



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

**Funerary consumption in the second half of the 19th century in
Brisbane, Queensland**

Hilda Erica Maclean

BA Hons, MEd



A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at

The University of Queensland in 2015

School of Social Science

Abstract

A plume decked hearse drawn by a pair of black horses is one of the most enduring and familiar images of the Victorian era. Death is universal yet little is really known about the business behind consigning the dead to the earth in our not so distant past. This thesis examines the consumption of funerary goods and services in Brisbane, the capital of the colony of Queensland, Australia between 1859 and 1901. Using a consumer behaviour theoretical framework, the consumption choices made by three categories of funerary consumers; individuals, institutions and intermediaries are examined. In this thesis, institutions are the facilities where deaths occurred and the consumption was made by corporate bodies. The intermediaries are the undertakers who facilitated and mediated the purchases made by the other two categories, while being consumers of goods and services in their own right. As existing consumption models do not adequately address all of these categories, a new model for funerary consumption is proposed.

This research project developed from the 2000 – 2002 archaeological salvage excavation of the former North Brisbane Burial Grounds (NBBG) which operated between 1843 and 1875. A number of artefacts were recovered from 397 burials, providing a subset of funerary goods that were actually consumed but not the total range and value of goods which were available for purchase at the time. Documentary evidence was sought as to the origin and cost of these goods in an attempt to learn more about the consumption choices made by Brisbane residents. However, an incomplete documentary record meant that disparate strands of evidence were scrutinised together, and to assist in that process the archaeological record and existing models of consumption were examined.

This thesis answers the question: *What factors influenced the consumption of funerary goods and services in Brisbane in the last half of the 19th century?* All surviving undertakers' records in the location and period were examined for evidence of consumption. These were cross-referenced with existing cemetery records and sorted by grave class allowing for the consumption of individuals to be grouped. As a single grave class was exclusively used by institutional consumers, this allowed for these burials to be examined separately, showing a different process of institutional acquisition of burial services to those funerals arranged by the family and friends of the deceased.

The Funerary Consumption Model (FCM) was developed to show the consumption pattern of both individual and institutional consumers, with the intermediary (i.e. the undertaker) mediating their purchasing decisions. Then the factors which influence consumer decision making processes e.g. marketing, reference groups etc. were added to the model. The FCM can also be applied to the consumption of funerary services in other jurisdictions and time periods.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

I acknowledge that an electronic copy of my thesis must be lodged with the University Library and, subject to the policy and procedures of The University of Queensland, the thesis be made available for research and study in accordance with the Copyright Act 1968 unless a period of embargo has been approved by the Dean of the Graduate School.

I acknowledge that copyright of all material contained in my thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of that material. Where appropriate I have obtained copyright permission from the copyright holder to reproduce material in this thesis.

Publications during candidature

No publications.

Publications included in this thesis

No publications included.

Contributions by others to the thesis

No contributions by others.

Statement of parts of the thesis submitted to qualify for the award of another degree

None.

Acknowledgements

It would have been impossible to write this thesis without the help of many people, both in Australia and overseas. I am deeply appreciative of the assistance they have given me.

At the University of Queensland, first and foremost, I must thank my advisors Dr Jon Prangnell and Dr Glenys McGowan for their insightful feedback. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for the interest and support shown by other staff and PhD Candidates at the School of Social Science. In particular I would like to thank Keitha Brown post graduate administrative officer (retired), for calmly guiding me through the enrolment procedures of graduate school and giving me much encouragement. I also need to thank University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit North Brisbane Burial Grounds 2000 – 2002 excavation crew and to Dr Jon Prangnell for providing access to the reports, maps, photographs and artefacts. I am especially indebted to Helen Cooke, faculty librarian, and the staff of the Fryer Library. This project could not have been undertaken without funding support received from University of Queensland Research Scholarship (UQRS) and conference funding from the School of Social Science Post Graduate Studies Committee.

I would sincerely like to thank Matthew Harris for drawing the maps, Dr Margaretha Vlahos for providing the illustrations, Egil Gausel for taking the photographs and Jaydeyn Thomas for proof-reading.

In Brisbane, I need to thank Stephanie Ryan and the staff of the John Oxley Library, the State Library of Queensland, and the Queensland State Archives. Not only did they retrieve the items I requested, they were frequently helpful with suggestions of other, lesser known and under-utilised resources I could investigate. I would also like to thank Dr Katie McConnel, Curator, Old Government House for making available the diary of Lady Musgrave and for her unfailing encouragement.

The Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Genealogical Society of Queensland, Queensland Family History Society collections are a valuable source of data. For all of the generous assistance I received from the volunteers who run these societies, I am sincerely grateful.

The Friends of Toowong Cemetery Association Inc. have collected in its 20 year existence data on the North Brisbane Burial Grounds and the Brisbane General Cemetery. Sue Olsen, Margaret Campbell, Prue Firth and Paul Seeto deserve particular mention.

There were several other people who were of great assistance in making available the results of their own historical research and private collections. I am especially grateful to Reverend John Cuffe, Priest in Charge, Christ Church, Milton (retired), Val Blomer and Margaret McNamara for sharing the Hislop Family Photographs. Thank you also to Laurel Shanley of K.M. Smith for providing me with her research into Kate Mary Smith and to the staff of Cannon & Cripps for letting me delve into their collection of photographs and ephemera.

In Sydney, I would like to thank Paul Cox of the Powerhouse Museum who welcomed me behind the scenes and made available the coffin furniture from the Wong Family Store collection. Thanks must also be made to the staff of the Mitchell Library for making available the diary of Blanche Mitchell.

In Canberra, everyone connected with the National Library of Australia's Trove Project need to be thanked for digitising colonial era newspapers and photographs, making external research possible. Associate Professor Helen Ennis provided a valuable insight into post-mortem photography.

In the United Kingdom, the following have provided gracious assistance and unfailing encouragement, Dr Simon Buteux and Dr Sarah Hayes, Newman Brothers Coffin Furniture Factory project of the Birmingham Conservation Trust. A great deal of expertise was made available to me by Julie Halls at The National Archives, Kew and Dr Brian Parsons for the insight into the British funeral industry. I am deeply thankful for the encouragement of Reverend Doctor Peter Jupp, Dr Toby Miles-Johnson, Dr Susan Buckham, Dr Julie Rugg and Dr Ruth McManus. To fellow coffin furniture researchers Megan E. Springate and Sarah Hoile, thank you for sharing your collections with me.

Finally, a huge debt of thanks must be paid to my family and friends for the varying degrees of interest shown in my research topic.

Frontispiece Photograph: Best hearse with 'four-in-hand' and plumes. One of a series of publicity photographs taken outside John Hislop, Queen Street, Brisbane ca 1885 (SLQ 16756)

Keywords

Victorian era, funerals, undertakers, burials, consumption, Funerary Consumption Model, coffin furniture.

Australian and New Zealand Standard Research Classifications (ANZSRC)

ANZSRC code: 210108, Historical Archaeology 60%

ANZSRC code: 210303 Australian History (Excl. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander History) 40%

Fields of Research (FoR) Classification

FoR code: 2101, Historical Archaeology (incl. Industrial Archaeology) 60%

FoR code: 2103, Australian History (excl. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander History) 40%

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
List of Figures	xiii
List of Tables	xv
List of Abbreviations	xvii
Glossary of Terms	xviii
Chapter One - Introduction	1
Research Setting.....	2
North Brisbane Burial Grounds Archaeological Salvage	15
Research Questions.....	20
Rationale	22
Thesis Content and Organisation	24
Chapter Two – Consumption and archaeology.....	27
Broad studies of consumption	28
Consumer Behaviour.....	28
Individuals.....	29
Institutions.....	32
Intermediaries	32
Archaeology of consumption	36
Consumption models and the archaeological record	36
External influences on purchasing decisions	37
Internal influences on purchasing decisions	39
Income	39
Acquisition	39
Use	40
Post-use disposition.....	40
Undertakers' records as evidence of consumption	40
Burial excavations	41
Material culture of burial.....	44
Literature on death and dying.....	48
Chapter Three – Data Sources and Methods	51
Documentary sources	51
Individuals.....	51
Institutions.....	57

Intermediaries	59
Material Culture	63
Archaeological collections.....	64
Museum collections	64
Methods	65
Chapter Four – Brisbane death and burial.....	68
Legislation	68
Death in Brisbane 1859 - 1901	70
Location of death.....	73
Interval between death and burial	74
Preparing the corpse.....	74
Embalming	77
Dressing the corpse	77
Coffins	80
Surface treatment.....	87
Coffin construction – lead shells.....	89
Lining materials	90
Mattresses and pillows	91
Funerals	92
The grave	102
Funeral reform movements and earth to earth burials.....	106
Chapter Five – Individual consumers.....	109
Class One Graves	113
1860s Georgina Hely and Lucy Drew	114
1870s John Scorra.....	118
1880s Lady Palmer.....	118
1890s John Joseph and Mary Jane Hayes	119
1900 Charles Curnow	120
Class One variation - Justice Alfred Lutwyche	121
Class One variation – Mabel Everett	122
Class Two Graves	123
1870s Henry Lee Haden.....	123
1880s Elizabeth Overland.....	124
1890s Bridget Brenan also known as Bridget Pope.....	124

1900 Joseph Vassallo also known as Joseph Howes.....	125
Alfred Edward Harris.....	126
Class Two variation - Frederick Horn.....	127
Jewish.....	128
Morris Samuels	128
Class Three Graves	128
1870s William Lyford.....	129
1880s James Martin.....	129
1890s Christopher Murtagh	130
Class Three variation - Tom Young	130
Chinese.....	130
Loong Sang.....	131
Chapter Six – Institutional consumers.....	133
The hospitals.....	133
Hospital contracts	136
Police contracts.....	145
Richard Seymour	146
Prison inmates	147
State funerals	149
The Honourable Thomas Joseph Byrnes MLA	149
Religious institutions.....	151
John Michael Cummins.....	152
Chapter Seven – Intermediary consumers.....	156
Brisbane’s colonial undertakers	156
Undertakers’ status	163
Establishing the business.....	165
Purchases for internal use.....	166
Purchases made on behalf of clients.....	166
Purchases for retail sale.....	175
Expanding the business	181
Marketing themselves	184
Directory advertising.....	194
Chapter Eight – Modelling funerary consumption	198
Influences on individual choices.....	199

Influences on institutional choices	203
Influences on intermediary choices	204
Consumer influence on innovation	205
The development of the Funerary Consumption Model.....	210
Manufacturers	212
Marketing efforts to the intermediary	212
External influences	215
External influences on intermediaries	215
External influences on individuals	216
External influences on institutions.....	218
Marketing Efforts by the intermediary.....	219
Internal influences on the individual	222
Internal influences on the institution	224
Use / Non-use	227
Example of the flow of goods through the Funerary Consumption Model	227
Applicability of the Funerary Consumption Model to different contexts	232
Chapter Nine – Rest in peace.....	240
Thesis findings	241
Avenues for further research.....	245
List of References.....	246

List of Figures

Figure 1 Location of Brisbane, Queensland, Australia (Map drawn by M. Harris).....	3
Figure 2 Brisbane's early burial grounds (Map drawn by M. Harris)	12
Figure 3 NBBG ca 1865 looking towards the west (BCC B120-30900)	14
Figure 4 Removing overburden in the Roman Catholic Burial Ground (UQASU C12-30)..	15
Figure 5 Soil staining in the Anglican Burial Ground (UQASU C8-6)	15
Figure 6 Typical level of preservation skeletal remains in the Anglican Burial Ground (UQASU F51_C9-36).....	16
Figure 7 Depositum at Anglican Burial Ground (UQASU F53_C10-7)	17
Figure 8 Closely spaced children's graves Roman Catholic Burial Ground (UQASU C14- 15)	19
Figure 9 Crook's (1999:67 Figure 8.1) General model for the acquisition and use of consumer goods modified from Henry (1991:5 Figure 1).....	38
Figure 10 From left: Single break, rectangular, trapezoid coffins (Adapted from Cherryson <i>et al.</i> 2012:48 Figure 3.3. Redrawn by M. Vlahos).....	84
Figure 11 Five sawn kerfs on the inner wooden shell of a lead-lined coffin burial F206 in the Roman Catholic cemetery at the NBBG (UQASU F206_C19-17).....	85
Figure 12 Gable-lid German style coffin (Drawn by M. Vlahos)	86
Figure 13 Advertisement for undertaker George Eder (<i>Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser</i> 3 September 1898:1)	87
Figure 14 Exploded view of a triple shell coffin with a lead lining (after Cherryson <i>et al.</i> 2012:51. Drawn by M. Vlahos).....	90
Figure 15 Grave of Eliza Pym (died 1871) in front of the Anglican Mortuary Chapel (John Petrie's Album 1875, QFHS).....	93
Figure 16 Funeral cortège of Sir Anthony Musgrave showing the coffin on the gun carriage covered by a flag and floral tributes 10 October 1888 (SLQ 201403)	95
Figure 17 Best hearse with plumes. One of a series of publicity photographs taken outside John Hislop, Queen Street, Brisbane ca 1885 (SLQ 167961).....	98
Figure 18 Mourning coach without plumes. One of a series of publicity photographs taken outside John Hislop, Queen Street, Brisbane ca 1885 (SLQ 16766)	99
Figure 19 Petrie's Undertaking Establishment, Stanley Street, South Brisbane during the March 1890 flood (SLQ 91419).....	101
Figure 20 Gravestone of Georgina Hely and Lucy Drew now located in the Christ Church monumental reserve, Milton, Brisbane (BCC B120-22997)	117
Figure 21 Publicity photograph for John Hislop taken outside of the gates of the Brisbane General Cemetery ca 1895 [Private collection M. McNamara]	172
Figure 22 First advertisements for plumes in the Brisbane newspapers (<i>Brisbane Courier</i> 25 October 1879:5).....	174
Figure 23 Age of the deceased for funerals ordering plumes (January 1879 – July 1881) (Walsh 1879:150-1)	176
Figure 24 New merchandise and services available for purchase from Sillett and Barrett (<i>Brisbane Courier</i> 10 July 1896:1)	177

Figure 25 John Hislop with a display of floral tributes at his Queen Street premises ca 1885 (SLQ 16766)	178
Figure 26 Header of the funeral invoice for Ah Hing showing the range of goods available from W.H. Hancock (1887) [Private collection V. Blomer].....	181
Figure 27 John Smith's advertisement in the <i>Queensland Figaro</i> 29 November 1884:29185	
Figure 28 Location of Brisbane's undertakers c.1890 extracted from advertisements in the <i>Brisbane Courier</i> (Map: SLQ 742333).....	189
Figure 29 Murray's published price list (<i>Brisbane Courier</i> 31 December 1870:1)	192
Figure 30 Variations of this display advertisement by John Hislop ran annually in the <i>Queensland Official Directory</i> from 1894 to 1905	196
Figure 31 Advertisement for Sophie Miller (<i>Queensland Official Directory</i> 1900:57)	197
Figure 32 Excessive funerary consumption was frequently ridiculed in the press (<i>North Eastern Ensign</i> . Victoria. 5 September 1884:2)	205
Figure 33 Funerary Consumption Model.....	211
Figure 34 Dottridge advertisement in the <i>Queensland Official Directory</i> for 1898-1899 (Wise & Co. 1898:9).....	215
Figure 35 Depositum from the Shamrock Set registered by John Hands in 1856 (TNA BT43-9-104810).....	218
Figure 36 Depositum from the Thistle Set registered by John Hands in 1857 (TNA BT43-9-109814).....	218
Figure 37 A printers' block image of a hearse from the advertisement of Bell, Cannon and Cripps, Brisbane (<i>Queensland Evangelical Standard</i> 18 April 1878:503).....	220
Figure 38 Hawaiian advertisement showing the same printers' block image used by many Brisbane undertakers in the 1890s (<i>Evening Bulletin</i> 24 January 1903:6).....	221
Figure 39 Artefact (FS242) <i>in situ</i> at the NBBG (UQASU F17_C7-10)	228
Figure 40 Impression of coffin handle plate <i>in situ</i> (F17) NBBG (UQASU F17_C7-32) ...	229
Figure 41 The middle-sized coffin handle and plate from set (TNA BT43-15-166773)	229
Figure 42 Complete set of coffin furniture registered by John Hands in October 1863 (TNA BT 43-15-166773).....	230
Figure 43 Coffin of John Quigley age six, West Wallsend, New South Wales 17 August 1893 (Hunter Photo Bank, Snowball Collection 3707)	234

List of Tables

Table 1 Brisbane's climatic conditions in the 1860s (adapted from Pugh 1866:46)	3
Table 2 Population statistics for Brisbane and the colony of Queensland (Office of Economic and Statistical Research 2009)	4
Table 3 Daily labour rates in Queensland 1860-1896 (extracted from Coghlan 1969 Vols 1-4)	5
Table 4 Rates of pay and hours worked in various occupations in 1891. (Extracted from Crook 1958:3.38 Table 29)	7
Table 5 Break down of religions in Queensland (Brisbane) from census statistics. Brisbane statistics calculated by Crook (1958 Appendix 2)	8
Table 6 Number of graves excavated from each section and estimated total number of burials (Rains and Prangnell 2002:27 Table 1)	18
Table 7 Definition of grave classes at the Brisbane General Cemetery (derived from the QGG 1874 XV (140):1546)	22
Table 8 Summary of reference groups (adapted from Blythe 2013:216-224)	31
Table 9 Hierarchy of burial places (adapted from Miles 2011:166) with representative published archaeological reports added	43
Table 10 Charges of a London undertaking firm reproduced in <i>Cassell's Household Guide</i> (1869:292)	56
Table 11 Coverage of surviving Brisbane undertakers' funeral order books for selected years in the study period.....	60
Table 12 Summary of Coffin Cash Sales made by John Smith 1883 – 1887 (K.M. Smith 1883-1887)	80
Table 13 Shape of coffins excavated from the NBBG (extracted from McGowan 2007:272 and Prangnell and Rains 2002:50-64)	86
Table 14 Location of funerals from funeral notices published in the <i>Moreton Bay Courier</i> and <i>Brisbane Courier</i> 1859 - 1863.....	92
Table 15 Charges for grave land at four Brisbane Cemeteries (extracted from the QGG 1866 VII (147):1122; QGG 1867 VIII (107):1166; QGG 1874 XV (140):2137; QGG 1878 XXIII (62):942; QGG 1882 XXXI (37):678).....	103
Table 16 Fees applicable to Class One to Class Three graves for the Brisbane General Cemetery, 1875 (QGG 1874 XV (140):2137).....	104
Table 17 Summary of the consumption of funerary goods for selected years at K.M. Smith	105
Table 18 Occupations of those responsible for funeral payment extracted from the funeral order book of K.M. Smith for 1885	111
Table 19 Grave class by census categories derived from Crook (1958:Appendix IIIA) ...	112
Table 20 Median cost of funerals by sex and age in 1885 $n=397$ (extracted from funeral orders K.M. Smith 1885:66-103).....	113
Table 21 Brisbane institutions which utilised contract undertakers	135
Table 22 Comparative share of undertaking business generated by the Brisbane Hospital (Brisbane Hospital 1899 - 1913 QSA ID2887)	144
Table 23 Class One to Class Three funerals by religion in 1900	153

Table 24 Breakdown of Class One to Class Three funerals by religion conducted by John Smith in 1885 (extracted from K.M. Smith 1885)	154
Table 25 Brisbane's undertaking establishments grouped by continuity.....	161
Table 26 Coffin furniture held in stock by William Walsh in February 1877 (Walsh 1877:20 February)	169
Table 27 Grave class of funerals ordering plumes from William Walsh (January 1879 – July 1881) (Walsh 1879:150-1).....	175
Table 28 Religious affiliation of funerals ordering plumes (January 1879 – July 1881) (Walsh 1879:150-1)	175
Table 29 Floral tributes sold by three Brisbane undertaking firms in 1900.	179
Table 30 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of 'timeliness' from advertisements placed in the <i>Brisbane Courier</i> 1859 - 1901.....	187
Table 31 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of 'reach' from advertisements placed in the <i>Brisbane Courier</i> 1859 - 1901	190
Table 32 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of 'availability' from advertisements placed in the <i>Brisbane Courier</i> 1859 - 1901.....	191
Table 33 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of 'economy' from advertisements placed in the <i>Brisbane Courier</i> 1859 - 1901.....	193
Table 34 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of 'quality' from advertisements placed in the <i>Brisbane Courier</i> 1859 - 1901	193

List of Abbreviations

A&APC	American & Australasian Photographic Company
BCC	Brisbane City Council
FCM	Funerary Consumption Model
GSQ	Genealogical Society of Queensland
MUIOOF	Manchester Unity International Order of Odd Fellows
NBBG	North Brisbane Burial Grounds
NRL	Newcastle (NSW) Region Library
QFHS	Queensland Family History Society
QGG	<i>Queensland Government Gazette</i>
QPP	<i>Queensland Parliamentary Papers</i>
QSA	Queensland State Archives
RHSQ	Royal Historical Society of Queensland
SLQ	State Library of Queensland
TNA	The National Archives (Kew)
UQASU	University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit

Glossary of Terms

Adult	For burials in any cemetery established in Brisbane after 1871, an adult is a person aged 8 years and over.
Bad Death	“a sudden death which allowed no time for spiritual preparation and contrition for past sins” (Jalland 1996:59). Deaths by accident, suicide or in war were considered bad deaths.
Boards	Cut dressed timber wide enough to construct a coffin without requiring joins.
Burial	In this thesis, the placement of a corpse in the earth in a burial container in a regulated burial ground of cemetery established under the <i>Cemetery Act</i> (1865).
Coffin Lace	Long strips of thin decorated stamped tin used to cover the joins in the cloth covering the coffin.
Depositum	Also known as a beast plate, name plate or coffin plate. A thin pressed metal plate fixed to the lid of the coffin on which the biographic details of the deceased were painted. Engraved cast brass and silver plates were used for high-status burials.
Coffin furniture	Structural and decorative metalwork used in the construction of a coffin.
Four-in-hand	Four horses harnessed to a hearse driven by a single driver
Good Death	“which took place in the home surrounded by a loving and supportive family, whose affection expressed itself afterwards in sorrow for its dead. Death was ideally a family event interpreted in terms of a shared Christianity, with the assurance of family reunion in heaven” (Jalland 1996:3).
Grave	
Contract	A grave sold by a Cemetery Trust for use by an undertaker holding a burial contract with a publicly funded institution. The burial rights remain with the Trust.
Private	A grave purchased for/by an individual for the exclusive use of themselves and family. The burial rights remain with the purchaser’s descendants.
Public	A grave used for the burial of individual which confers no ownership right to the grave. Unrelated individuals can be buried in the same grave.
Grip Plates	The decorative non-structural plate fixed between the coffin handle (grip) and the coffin itself.
Immortelle	Arrangement of porcelain flowers under glass.

Jean	Heavy weight cotton sateen with a high thread count often used for ecclesiastical embroidery and occasionally for lining coffins.
Mounted	A coffin on which coffin furniture has been attached including handles and a name plate. 'Full Mounted' implies that additional ornaments have been added.
Mourners' fittings	Cloaks and crape hat bands hired to the mourners by the undertaker.
Plates	Generally an abbreviation for a coffin breastplate (see above).
Plumes	Feathers (usually ostrich) in white, black or a combination of both used to decorate funeral vehicles.
Head plumes	Short plumes attached to the horses' head harness.
Plumes all round	Plumes attached to the horses, hearse and mourning carriage.
Shoddy	Wool stuffing made from fibres reclaimed by unravelling scraps of woven cloth
Swansdown	Heavy cotton flannel that has a thick nap on the face and is made with sateen weave.

N.B. Currency notated as £1/2/3 is read as one pound, two shillings and three pence. Otherwise shillings are abbreviated as s. and pence as d.

For units of measurement 5' 9" is read five foot nine inches.

For expressing age the following abbreviations are used; d. days, m. months and y. years.



Chapter One - Introduction

Between 1859 and 1901, 33,314 deaths were registered in the district of Brisbane, capital of the colony of Queensland. Each one is an example of funerary consumption. The stories of very few of these people are known and there is a deficiency in the knowledge of funerary consumption in Brisbane as a whole. Despite the universality of death, no detailed examination has been conducted into the consumer decisions made by the citizens of Brisbane in the disposal of human remains. The interaction between consumers and the material culture of death is central to this thesis. Therefore, it documents funerary consumption in Brisbane and provides an explanatory model. There is a particular emphasis on the manufacture and procurement of funerary goods consumed in Brisbane between 1859 and 1901. In this thesis 'funerary goods' are the goods which are consumed in the preparation of the body for burial (e.g. shroud, embalming fluid); the coffin and its furniture; and the accoutrements of the funeral itself. The goods generated by the mourning ritual (e.g. crape and mourning jewellery) are marketed directly to the consumer along more established lines and although mentioned, are not specifically studied in this thesis. This study places the Brisbane undertaking industry as intermediaries within a consumer behaviour theoretical framework, examining the internal and external influences on the consumption of the material culture of death. In order to understand the consumers and their consumption, it is necessary to model their behaviour and the development of a Funerary Consumption Model (FCM) is the outcome. Funerary consumption mirrors more general consumption in that both individual and institutional consumers purchase a range of goods and services from the same supplier albeit at different price points. However, the influences exerted on these consumers, for example, the high level of emotion generated by a death, differentiate funerary consumption from more mainstream consumption.

This thesis developed from the archaeological excavation of the North Brisbane Burial Grounds (NBBG) in 2001-2002. It complements research into, and analysis of, the artefacts recovered in the salvage excavation. Rains and Prangnell (2002) documented the site history, assessed the significance and recorded the excavation methods. Haslam *et al.* (2003) reported on the human remains from a sample of excavated graves. A detailed investigation was conducted by McGowan (2007) into the poor preservation of

human remains and of the site. Further papers have treated specific aspects of the material culture. McGowan and Prangnell (2009) reported on the recycling of an exotic timber in the construction of a coffin. McGowan and Prangnell (2011) examined buttons and Prangnell and McGowan (2013) investigated textiles from the NBBG burials. Further studies of the site include an analysis of vivianite at the site (McGowan and Prangnell 2006), the calculation of soil temperature (Prangnell and McGowan 2009) and the calculation of the effect of soil pressure on the burials (McGowan and Prangnell 2015). On the whole, the examination of this site has been more scientific than social, providing the opportunity to research the actions of the living in connection with burials. The origins of the coffin furniture (handles, name plates, decorative elements) recovered from the site has not been previously investigated and are used in this thesis as an example of the flow of funerary goods which existed between Victorian era Britain and her colonies. Although fragmentary, the archaeological record provides the only physical evidence of the range of funerary goods from which consumers were able to choose prior to the North Brisbane Burial Ground's official closure in 1875.

From 1875, burials in the recently-established general cemeteries which ringed Brisbane marked the transformation from the traditional churchyard grave arrangement to the modern general cemetery which introduced the management of grave space and principles of financial accountability which have carried through to the present day. Society as a whole was modernising, throwing off the belief systems surrounding death, some of which had been in place since the late Middle Ages and this too changed the consumption patterns of Brisbane's bereaved.

Research Setting

This study is set in a Victorian era city located at the edge of the British Empire. Brisbane's mid-19th century predominantly white, mainly British, Protestant population brought with them the funerary culture of the United Kingdom and maintained it as far as the conditions of their new environment would allow.

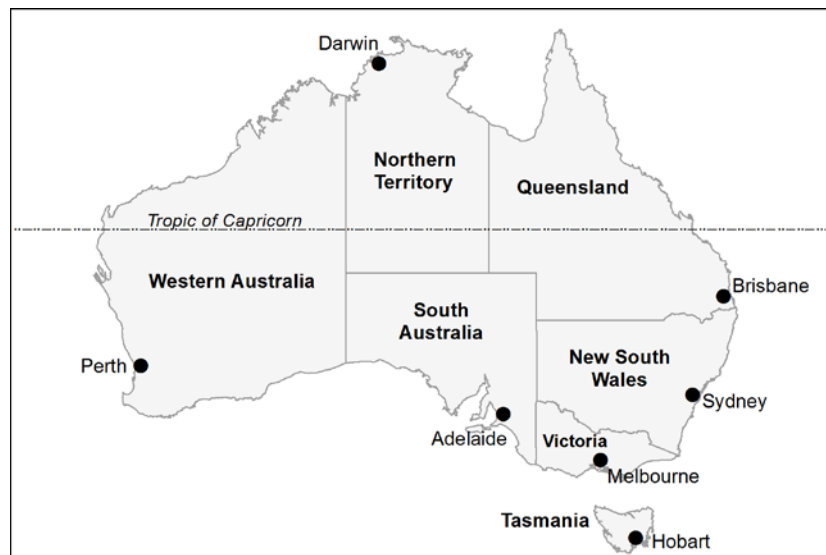


Figure 1 Location of Brisbane, Queensland, Australia (Map drawn by M. Harris)

Brisbane is a sub-tropical city located at 27°S and 153°E on the eastern seaboard of Australia (Figure 1). A tidal river of the same name bisects the city, with the central business district on the north bank and another commercial district on the south bank; both of which experienced significant flooding in the second half of the 19th century. The majority of the rain falls in the summer months (December to March) creating intense humidity. The winter months are drier and frosts are rare (Table 1).

Table 1 Brisbane's climatic conditions in the 1860s (adapted from Pugh 1866:46)

Mean maximum temperature	Mean minimum temperature	Annual rainfall
26.4 °C (80 °F)	16.2 °C (61 °F)	1,008.2 mm (39.7 in)

Originally the Moreton Bay District of New South Wales, Brisbane was first settled as an outpost for recalcitrant convicts in 1825. The penal settlement was closed in 1839 and the land was officially opened up for free settlement in 1842 (Knight 1897:10-3). Brisbane was declared a municipality in September 1859 (Knight 1897:83-4). Even in the municipality's proclamation document, the dead feature as the eastern boundaries of the "Jews', Roman Catholics', Presbyterians', and Aborigines' burial grounds mark the western extremity of the new municipality on the north side of the Brisbane River" (*New South Wales Government Gazette* 1859 (179):1996). As the *Parish Registers Act* (1825) precluded burial with the boundaries of a town, the boundary line was simply drawn to exclude the existing burial grounds from the new municipality. After Queensland's separation from New South Wales in 1859, the population grew rapidly due to direct migration from the United Kingdom and Ireland especially in the early 1860s when the population doubled (Table 2).

Table 2 Population statistics for Brisbane and the colony of Queensland (Office of Economic and Statistical Research 2009)

Year	Brisbane	Queensland	Percentage of population living in Brisbane
1859	5,000	23,520	21.3
1861	6,051	34,367	17.6
1864	12,551	73,578	17.1
1868	14,265	106,101	13.4
1871	19,413	121,743	15.9
1876	20,645	182,185	11.3
1881	37,127	221,849	16.7
1886	64,286	332,311	19.3
1891	88,083	400,395	22.0
1901	120,650	506,721	23.8

For the purpose of this thesis, Brisbane is the area defined by the Registrar General of Queensland for the collection of vital statistics (i.e. births, deaths and marriages). These boundaries were within an eight kilometre (five-mile) radius from the General Post Office for the city statistics and up to 16 kilometres (10 miles) for the suburban statistics. Discrete mortality tables were published for a number of suburbs within fixed boundaries allowing for year by year comparisons. Brisbane was not divided into ecclesiastical parishes for the purposes of maintaining the poor or burying the dead. These were secular activities overseen by the colonial government.

Brisbane's economic and employment conditions

Brisbane's economy went through two major depressions in the study period, in the mid-1860s and throughout the 1890s. The Treasury of the fledgling colony of Queensland was virtually bankrupt (Fitzgerald *et al.* 2009:19) until gold was discovered at Gympie in November 1867 (*Brisbane Courier* 14 November 1867:2). The period of strong economic growth of the 1880s ended abruptly with a reduction of direct British investment, impacting first on the building industry and spreading to other sectors and was then exacerbated by drought in 1898 (Lawson 1971:568-9). Wages for bricklayers and masons which had collapsed in 1867 again experienced declines in the 1890s falling below the levels of 1860 (Table 3). The wages paid to labourers was initially higher in the early 1860s but declined with the increase of migration as well as the downturn in economic conditions (Coglan 1969:1054-5).

Table 3 Daily labour rates in Queensland 1860-1896 (extracted from Coghlan 1969 Vols 1-4)

Year Vol:page	1860 2:1053	1864 2:1053	1866 2:1055	1867 2:1061	1872 2:1063	1887 3:1518	1893 3:1540	1896 4:2065
Carpenter	0.10.0	0.11.0	0.10.0		0.9.0		0.8.4	0.8.6
Blacksmith	0.10.6	0.11.0	0.11.0		0.10.0		0.8.4	0.8.4
Wheelwright	0.11.6	0.11.0	0.11.0		0.9.0			
Bricklayer	0.12.0	0.11.0	0.12.0	0.9.0	0.10.0		0.9.3	0.9.3
Mason	0.13.0	0.12.0	0.12.0	0.9.0	0.10.0	0.11.0		0.11.2
Labourer			0.7.0 to 0.8.6		0.6.0	0.6.0 to 0.8.6	0.6.0	0.6.0
Domestic nurse		0.1.0*	0.1.0*		0.1.8 to 0.2.4*			
General female servant		0.1.8*	0.1.8*		0.1.8 to 0.2.4*			
Female cook		0.2.0*	0.2.0*					
Laundress		0.1.8*	0.1.8*					

* in addition to full board

In 1897 the index of weekly wages was 85.7% of 1891 levels (Vamplew 1987:154). This 15% reduction had a significant impact on the disposable income of the working poor which in turn reduced the amount available for expenditure on funerals, especially ‘extras’ “cheap coffins might be ‘dignified’ by the tacking on of flimsy decorations stamped from sheet tin” (May 2008:7).

Occupations in Brisbane’s urban economy in the 1880s and 1890s were graded in a hierarchy according to the prestige attributed to them by other members of the community (Lawson 1973:59-60). The pastoralists (many of whom were absentee land holders) and wealthy wholesale merchants saw themselves as the social leaders of the new colony (Lawson 1973:59). As there were few large commercial or financial companies in Brisbane, executive officers (i.e. company secretaries and treasurers) also joined their principals in the upper echelons of society.

Although manufacturing expanded rapidly in the capital, most were small concerns (Lawson 1973:61). If admittance to the still very exclusive Queensland Club could be used as an indication of social success, no manufacturers were admitted in the 1880s and only five in the 1890s (Lawson 1973:60). Professional men such as lawyers and doctors also joined the ranks of the Queensland Club (Lawson 1973:61). These men were well-educated having received the benefits of a university education and were mostly drawn from the upper classes of Britain (Lawson 1973:61). The elite valued established wealth

and tended to look down on the *nouveaux riches* who had made their money in commerce regardless of how profitable their businesses were.

The ranks of the lesser professionals, small manufacturers, merchants and their managers were spread over a wide range of incomes. Many contracting and building firms were small, employing no more than two or three men and many employers earned little more than their employees (Lawson 1973:61). At the lower end of the spectrum were the sole traders; corner store owners and the like, whose turnover was often not sufficient to generate profit beyond supporting their families (Crook 1958:3.8).

Brisbane's permanent salaried workers included white collar workers in commerce and government and semi-skilled workers in industry, commerce and transport. These groups overlapped since some skilled workers and senior clerks earned more than the less prosperous small employers and the self-employed. An anomaly existed in the status hierarchy regarding the relative positions of the white-collar workers and the skilled manual workers. Although the salaries of the white-collar workers were usually lower than those of the skilled tradesmen, they enjoyed more prestige (Crook 1958:3.6). White collar workers maximised the social distance between themselves and manual workers developing a distinctive lifestyle. "An ordinary clerk in a respectable office must dress better than a workman, must live in better lodgings and support the dignity on wages that a workman would scarcely be induced to accept" (Brady 1890:96). During the depression of the 1890s, the retrenched clerk with a sense of higher status was in a worse position than the unemployed tradesman and was unlikely to seek recourse from relief agencies (Lawson 1973:62).

Until the 1880s, Brisbane society was still fluid and upward occupational mobility was common – many of the proprietors themselves had risen from the ranks of skilled workers. One local manufacturer claimed in 1887 "workmen in Australia are paid from 100-130% more than is paid to the same classes in England, while the hours worked are 48 hours per week instead of 54" (*Telegraph* 14 February 1887:2). However, not all workers enjoyed a 48 hour week. Those employed in the "food trades", i.e. butchers and bakers, worked exceptionally long hours, often up to 90 hours per week (Table 4). Retail assistants regularly worked a 67 hour week as evening shopping was considered a suitable entertainment by those in the more leisured classes (*Queensland Figaro* 10 August 1889:1).

Table 4 Rates of pay and hours worked in various occupations in 1891. (Extracted from Crook 1958:3.38 Table 29)

Status	Occupation	Pay Range per Week	Hours Range per Week
Unskilled	Factory Hands		
	Adult Males	35/- to 60/-	40 to 51¼
	Females	5/- to 30/-	
	Boys, Youths	6/- to 32/-	40 to 51¼
	Tobacco workers	35/- to 60/-	40 to 51¼
	Storemen	50/-	49 to 50
Skilled	Waitresses	12/- to 16/- (+ board)	45½ to 50
			52½ to 57½
	Tailors	25/- to 40/-	40 to 45
	Bakers	55/- to 60/-	60 to 90
	Bootmakers	40/- to 50/-	44 to 52½
	Butchers	20/- to 60/-	84½ to 87½
	Printers & Compositors	60/- to 80/- (with piecework)	42 to 65
	Binding girls	3/- to 5/-	42
	Machine boys	10/- to 12/-	42 to 65
	French Polishers	45/-	40
	Tinsmith	42/- to 54/-	40 to 44
	Watchmakers	40/- to 80/-	39 to 47
Sales	Salesmen	40/- to 100/-	45 to 67
	Saleswomen	15/- to 40/-	45 to 67
	Youths & junior salesmen	15/- to 37/-	45 to 67
	Junior saleswomen	19/- to 23/-	45 to 67
	Drapery	5/- to 40/-	48 to 67
	Girls	10/6	48 to 67
	Boys		

Since immigrants made up a large proportion of the work force, they were aware of how much their position had improved on arrival. The possibility of upward mobility was emphasized by the presence in the community of those who had succeeded (Crook 1958:3.9). However, in the early 1890s the onset of the Depression reduced the possibility of upward mobility (Fitzgerald 1982:151). Trade unionism had recently spread among unskilled workers who laboured in the increasingly mechanized factories. This was the group with lowest status and fewest social privileges and the majority of whom were Catholic and Irish, four barriers to social advancement (Lawson 1973:81).

Brisbane's religious composition

Colonial era Brisbane was not a strongly Christian society despite census data which indicated the contrary (Lawson 1973:258). According to the 1891 census, 95.3% of the population nominated as belonging to a Christian denomination (Table 5). Of the

remainder, 1.4% professed adherence to non-Christian faiths and only 0.5% stated that they had no religion with 1.2% choosing not to answer the question (Lawson 1973:248). These figures do not imply a uniform religious society, as Christianity in Brisbane was fragmented into a variety of denominations transplanted directly from Europe. “The pattern of [nominal] affiliations ... can be explained almost wholly in terms of migration: a very large majority of Australians identify themselves at census time with whatever was the faith of their ancestors in Europe” (Inglis 1965:43). Anglicans, Methodists and Baptists were mainly English, Presbyterians Scottish, Roman Catholics Irish and Lutherans German (Crook 1958:5.3).

Table 5 Break down of religions in Queensland (Brisbane) from census statistics. Brisbane statistics calculated by Crook (1958 Appendix 2)

Denomination	1868 ^a	1871 ^b	1881 ^c (Brisbane)	1886 ^c (Brisbane)	1891 ^d (Brisbane)
Church of England	37,234	43,764	73,920 (11,677)	113,665 (19,053)	142,555 (20,622)
Roman Catholics	26,378	31,822	54,376 (8,158)	76,112 (12,382)	92,765 (13,966)
Presbyterians	13,179	15,373	22,609 (3,871)	37,765 (7,081)	45,639 (7,504)
Methodists	5,192	7,206	14,351 (2,570)	23,330 (4,295)	30,868 (4,128)
Congregationalists & Independents	2,140	2,647	4,764 (1,196)	7,189 (1,873)	8,571 (1,846)
Baptists	2,088	2,897	5,583 (1,505)	8,425 (2,216)	10,256 (2,044)
Lutherans	6,335	8,558	16,889 (1,272)	21,451 (1, 831)	23,383 (1,832)
Jews, Confucians, Muslims, &c.	2,722	-	16,871 (344)	21,457 (806)	18,243 (746)
Salvation Army	-	-	-	-	4,021 (965)
All other religions	1,986	-	-	-	12,906
Refused to state, and unspecified	2,028	-	>300 (300)	2,389 (1,304)	4,511 (2,124)

a Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser 26 January 1869:6

b Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser 11 May 1872:4

c Brisbane Courier 14 October 1886:5

d Queenslander 8 October 1892:688

As Australia was settled as a penal colony in 1788, it inherited the secular spirit of the time with a clear pattern of widespread religious indifference stemming from this inauspicious beginning (Lawson 1973:258). In contrast to the American colonies, no new religions emerged in Queensland (Lawson 1973:248). "Our colonists unlike the pilgrim fathers of America, have not emigrated to these shores as an asylum from persecution carrying with them their religious ordinances; they have for the most part quitted their native country principally intent on the acquisition of wealth" (Barrett 1966:vii).

The impact of the evangelical revival which swept Britain during the middle of the 19th century was scarcely felt in Queensland (Lawson 1973:259). One factor which caused the high degree of nominalism in the colonial church was the settlers themselves. Urbanised British immigrants drawn from the working classes were attracted to Brisbane for the employment and advancement opportunities the young colony had to offer. Therefore, with the exception of the Irish, most immigrants were already largely estranged from their churches in Britain (Lawson 1973:259). Of those who did attend church, 75% were women drawn mainly from the middle classes (Lawson 1973:268).

In Brisbane, the largest denomination was the Church of England, which comprised more than one third of the Brisbane population despite attendance not reaching above 45% of the enumerated adherents (Crook 1958:5.3). Second was the Roman Catholic Church, who comprised 23.6% and then the Presbyterian and Methodist groups with one-eighth and one-tenth respectively. These four groups encompassed over four-fifths of the metropolitan population (Lawson 1973:248).

Brisbane's Roman Catholics, who were practically all Irish or of Irish decent, were very much set apart (Lawson 1973:251). Still acutely aware of the political oppression and religious persecution they had suffered in Ireland, and occupying the lowest positions in the community, they were so discriminated against socially they became a cohesive inward-looking minority group (Lawson 1973:21). Their cause was not helped by newspaper correspondents eager to cause division. Social statistics were cited in newspapers in which Catholicism was equated with low social status. For example, it was stated that Catholics furnished 48.8% of all orphans (*Brisbane Courier* 17 Oct 1898:4) and almost half the prison population (*Brisbane Courier* 31 December 1898:9).

For all denominations the number of clergy was hopelessly inadequate to minister to congregations thinly spread over a vast area (Rayner 1962:27-30). For example, it was reported at the 1876 Queensland Presbyterian Assembly that only 16 ministers were

engaged in actual duty (Lawson 1973:259). The few services were poorly attended from the outset; for example, in 1859, the average attendance at Anglican services was 640 and in 1869 communicants totalled only 830 for Queensland (Rayner 1962:72). English immigrants were accustomed to a richly endowed Church comprising numerous clergy and compact parishes. In Victorian era England there was no need to raise money to support the church (Hollingworth and Comben 1999:3). Members of the Church of England in Brisbane were not used to giving to the Church to carry out its ministry. It would be many years before this use of the offertory was accepted, as it was used in England to support the poor (Hollingworth and Comben 1999:3).

Although Brisbane's Presbyterianism was solidly middle class, it too included a large number who gave merely nominal allegiance as reported to the 1891 General Assembly (Lawson 1973:269). Nevertheless, the proportion attending services regularly was considerably higher than the Anglicans; the average attendance at Presbyterian churches and Sunday schools in Brisbane was between 35% and 40% of nominal membership (Lawson 1973:269).

Even after the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists united in 1902 the actual attendance (as opposed to nominal adherence) was only 1,617 considerably lower than the communicant membership of the Presbyterian church which stood at 2,275 (Lawson 1973:270). In a study of the social composition of the Methodist church in 19th century Victoria, Howe (1966) found a basic uniformity of occupations: "From 1855 to 1901, the Wesleyan church in Victoria was predominantly petty-bourgeois and most of the regular church attenders were either small business owners or skilled tradesmen... At no time did working class people attend the Wesleyan church in any large numbers" (Howe 1966:210). Methodism in Brisbane was very similar drawing its main support from the lower middle class i.e. lower-ranked civil servants and small business owners and the upper working class i.e. clerks and skilled workers (Lawson 1973:271).

Baptists were a much smaller denomination (11% of the nominal adherents of the Church of England) and consequently formed a more cohesive group (Crook 1958:5.2). Despite this, the Brisbane City Tabernacle, seating 800, was the largest Baptist church in Australia when it opened in 1890 (*Telegraph* 13 October 1890:2). Baptists, like Methodists, were drawn mainly from the ranks of small businessmen, white collar and skilled workers (Lawson 1973:272).

Early Brisbane Cemeteries

In Brisbane, the spatial relationship between the living and the dead shifted through the course of the second half of the 19th century. Whereas in the 1860s, the dead were buried as close as practicable (and permissible) to the living, reminiscent of the English village churchyard; by 1890s the disposal of the dead was seen as a problem which needed to be hygienically and efficiently dealt with (Murray 2003:129-131). Churches with attached burial grounds were not established within a five-mile radius of the Brisbane General Post Office.

From 1825 to 1839, when Brisbane was a penal settlement, most of the earliest known burials occurred in a burial ground that is now the E.E. McCormick Park, bounded by Skew Street, Eagle Terrace and North Quay (*Brisbane Courier* 13 October 1875:3). However, three children belonging to the staff of the settlement were buried in a separate enclosure on the north bank of the Brisbane River below North Quay between 1831 and 1833 (Harrison 2011:284). In 1842, with the coming of free settlement in Brisbane, the North Brisbane Burial Grounds (NBBG) between Milton and Paddington were established the following year and the North Quay site was closed and un-tended. It was believed that some monuments and remains were eventually transferred to the NBBG (Petrie 1904:314) which partially supports a newspaper description from 1852 which stated “six years ago, nearly a hundred tablets, headstones &c. stood in the old burial ground: now a bare dozen can be counted and many of these are depilated and overturned” (*Moreton Bay Courier* 16 October 1852:4).

The site of the NBBG was not a single entity, but seven separate rectangular areas spread over a reserve of 50 acres (**Error! Reference source not found.**). These were operated by denominational trusts which were (from south to north) Anglican (also known as Episcopalian or Church of England), Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Wesleyan Methodist, Congregationalist and Baptist. The burial of adherents of non-Christian religions (other than Judaism) and those of no religious persuasion, the unknown and the executed occurred in the Anglican ground as it functioned as the *de facto* general cemetery.

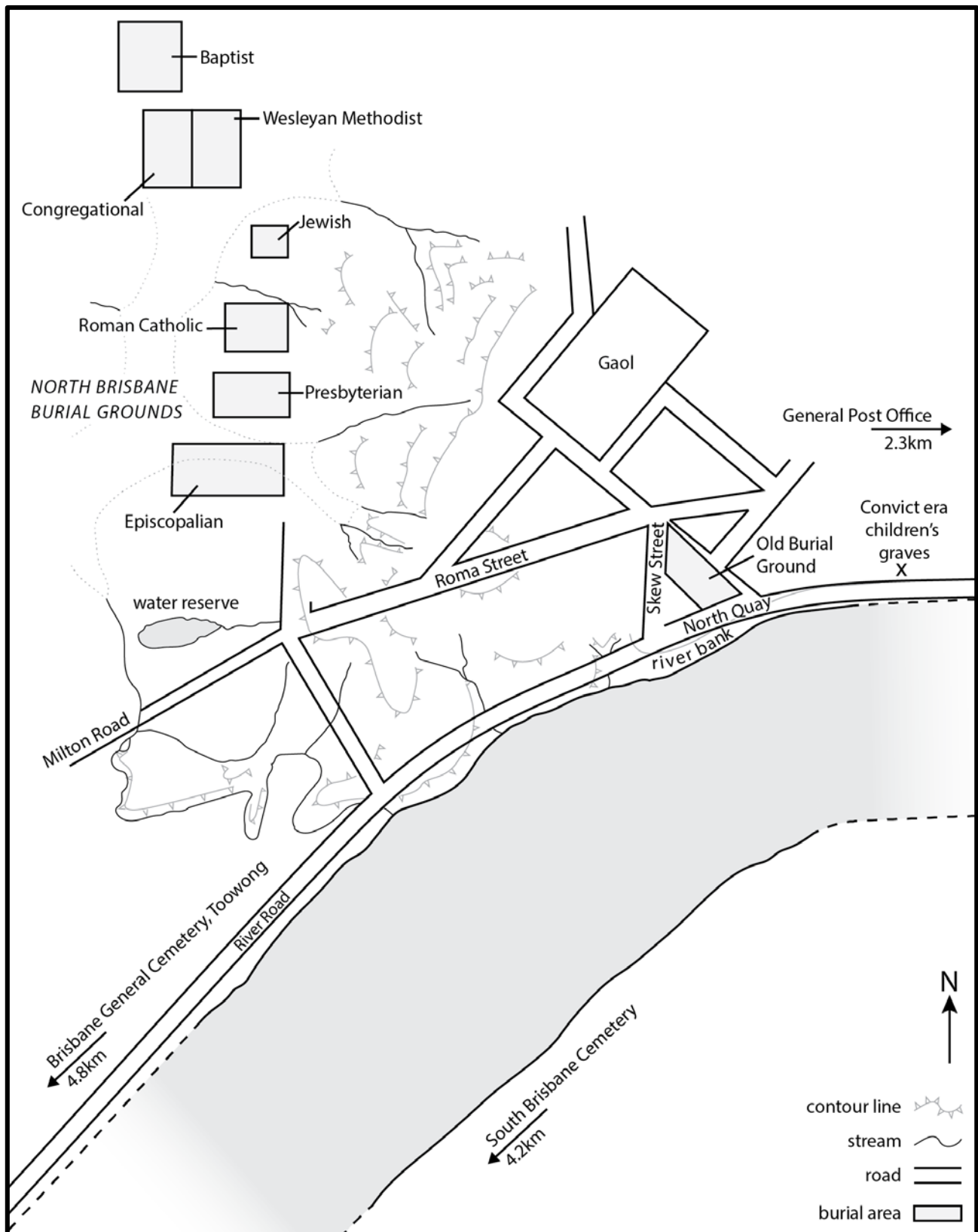


Figure 2 Brisbane's early burial grounds (Map drawn by M. Harris)

There was a degree of inequity in the allocation of the land at the NBBG. Initially the Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Presbyterians were each allocated an acre, with the Congregationalists and the Wesleyan Methodists allocated half an acre each in accordance with their relative populations in 1842 (Fisher and Shaw 1994:37). Brisbane's small Jewish population was allocated a one third of an acre (Ochert 1994:28). Prior to 1861 an Aboriginal burial ground which originally fronted the Anglican burial ground was also half an acre but was absorbed into the Anglican portion as the Indigenous population dwindled (Fisher and Shaw 1994:37-8). In 1861, the Presbyterians' allocation had expanded to 1½ acres and the Baptists were allocated an acre of land at the northern end of the reserve which was larger than their population warranted (Fisher and Shaw 1994:38). After August 1862 the Roman Catholic burial ground was under intense space pressure as Brisbane's Catholic community had been comparatively small until the arrival of the *Erin-go-bragh* with mainly Irish immigrants. This was the first immigrant ship, sponsored by the Queensland Immigration Society represented by Catholic clergy, direct to Moreton Bay as Irish immigration to the United States had been interrupted by the Civil War. Ten ships transported at least 3900 Catholic immigrants between 1862 and 1864 (Boland 1964:318). After requests to enlarge their portion of the NBBG were refused, the Catholic Church established Nudgee Cemetery in 1867, a non-exclusive denominational cemetery 18 kilometres from Brisbane but in the vicinity of a number of Catholic institutions (Gregory 1994:98-9).

When they were first opened in 1843, the NBBG were on the northern edge of the settlement over the crest of a hill about a mile from the business centre as specified by *Parish Registers Act 1825*. As the town expanded, the NBBG was encroached upon by low cost workers' accommodation (Figure 3). There was pressure by local residents to close the NBBG as there was a belief that burial grounds produced miasmas and disease (*Courier* 13 November 1863:2). This call was taken up by the medical profession who were instrumental in petitioning the Governor and Executive Council through a concerted letter writing campaign and a strongly worded petition (*Brisbane Courier* 13 July 1869:3).

Just as London, and other major British cities, established a ring of general cemeteries on their outskirts from the mid-1850s after the passing of the *Burial Act 1855* (Meller and Parsons 2011), Brisbane planned to do the same. A cemetery on the south side of the river was laid out but not used due to rapid population growth (*Brisbane Courier* 21 September 1867:5).

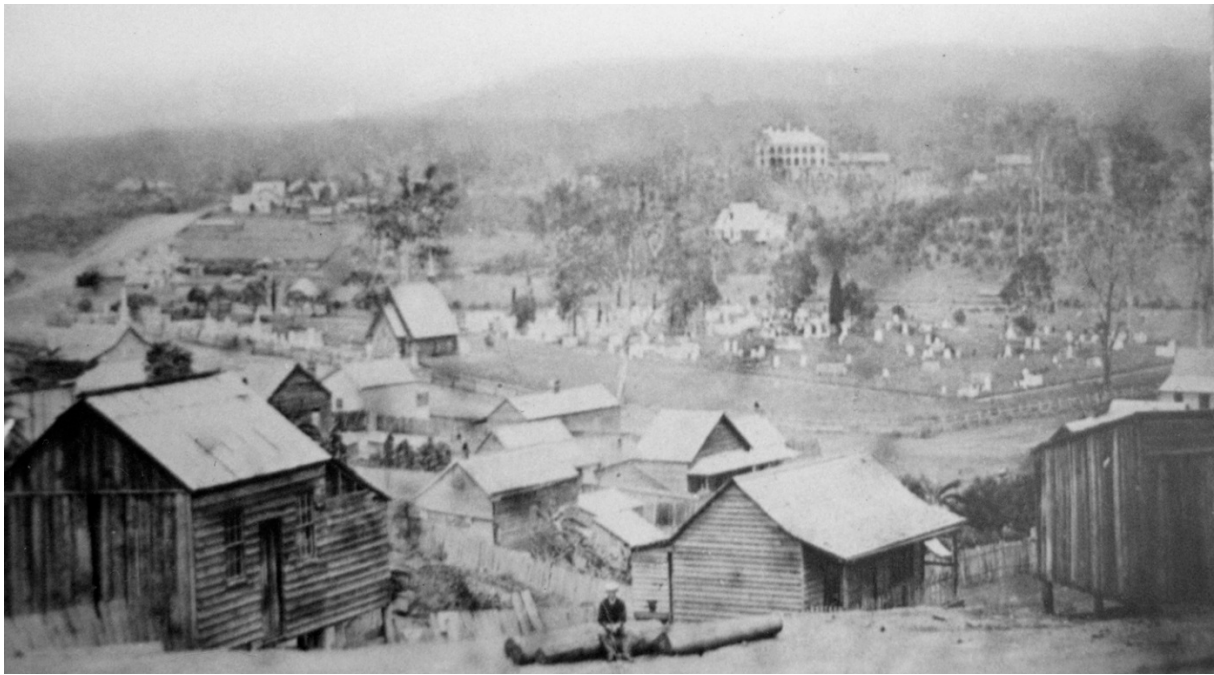


Figure 3 NBBG ca 1865 looking towards the west (BCC B120-30900)

A new site on the south bank of the Brisbane River was selected in part because the riverine access made it accessible “for the large population settled on Oxley Creek and both sides of the Brisbane River” (*Brisbane Courier* 16 March 1866:2). From the 1870s onwards the number of cemeteries expanded rapidly with the opening of South Brisbane at Dutton Park (1870), Toowong (1871), Bulimba at Balmoral (1874) and Hemmant in 1875. Bald Hills (Sandgate) Cemetery was opened in 1877 followed by Lutwyche in 1878 (Fisher and Shaw 1994:viii). These joined the extant Nundah Cemetery formerly known as the German Station Cemetery which was established about 1838 (Fisher and Shaw 1994:35) and all were gazetted under the *Cemetery Act 1865*. Although they were originally about three to five miles distant from the town of Brisbane, the population grew rapidly bringing housing subdivisions up to their boundaries, recreating the situation which had caused the closure of the NBBG.

Brisbane General Cemetery at Toowong, which had been considered to be too far from town in 1875 (*QPP* 1877 3(2):1192), was 30 years later considered to be too close to town of Toowong and was described as “a dreadful menace to the shire” (*Brisbane Courier* 21 April 1904:2).

North Brisbane Burial Grounds Archaeological Salvage

In August 2001, the University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit (UQASU) commenced the salvage of human remains from the NBBG which were subject to a high degree of impact from the redevelopment of Lang Park's eastern stadium (Rains and Prangnell 2002:26-7). Large excavators were used to remove the 20th century overburden until the 1914 level (when the NBBG were converted to playing fields) was exposed (Figure 4).



Figure 4 Removing overburden in the Roman Catholic Burial Ground (UQASU C12-30)

Changes in soil colour and texture indicating grave cuts were clearly visible at this level and were mapped. The subsoil was scraped back by heavy equipment until the tops of the coffins were exposed. Gravesites with recognizable material culture were assigned feature numbers, recorded and photographed (Figure 5).



Figure 5 Soil staining in the Anglican Burial Ground (UQASU C8-6)

Using standard archaeological techniques, the contents were removed and samples of coffin wood, furniture and sediments were retained for future study (Rains and Prangnell 2002:27). Of the 591 grave cuts identified, the contents of 397 burials were removed. In all but three cases, the coffins were not excavated after the contents were removed but left *in situ* (Rains and Prangnell 2002:27). Therefore, this limited the data collected on the frequency and use of decorative elements on the coffin sides.

Although a large number of graves survived post-depositional activity and site redevelopment, the features (especially skeletal remains) on the whole were very poorly preserved considering that the burials occurred only 130-160 years prior to the excavation in 2001 (Figure 6).



Figure 6 Typical level of preservation skeletal remains in the Anglican Burial Ground (UQASU F51_C9-36)

Six percent of coffin wood, 77% of textiles and 22% of metal coffin furniture had completely disappeared from the archaeological record (McGowan and Prangnell 2015:12). McGowan (2007:267) analyzed the level of preservation of coffins at the NBBG and found great variability across the various burial grounds. The best preserved coffins were in the Aboriginal Section where all 13 coffins were described as “Fair” or “Good”. This contrasts with the average across the burial grounds of 58% in “Fair” and 11% in “Good” condition (McGowan 2007:267 Table 55). The higher level of preservation in the former Aboriginal Section could also be explained by the likelihood that the burials salvaged occurred post 1861 after the section was subsumed into the Anglican Section and would have been up to twenty years more recent than the other Anglican burials excavated.

Forty-three of the 165 burials excavated in the Anglican section had either no coffin remaining (NCR) or were in poor condition. The Roman Catholic Cemetery had the worst overall level of preservation with 16 of 152 burials having NCR and a further 46 in poor condition. In the Presbyterian section, 18% were poor and 79% were fair (McGowan 2007:268 Table 56).

Therefore the preservation of the funerary artefacts recovered, especially coffin furniture was severely compromised preventing identification beyond a basic typology (Murphy and Rains 2003:15) (e.g. Figure 7). In only one instance, partial biographical data was obtained which shed light on the social status of the deceased. On a hand-painted depositum on coffin F73 recovered from the Anglican burial ground, the words "... Esq. ... Died Nov. ... Aged 48y" were discerned indicating the sex, age, religion and social status of the deceased (Prangnell and Rains 2002:32).



Figure 7 Depositum at Anglican Burial Ground (UQASU F53_C10-7)

In no instance was there a sufficient degree of preservation allowing the identification of individuals by name in to order allow further research into their social status and relative funerary consumption unlike other earth burial excavations in contemporary burial grounds in the United Kingdom. For example, at St John's School, Bethnal Green tightly stacked grave shafts and waterlogged conditions contributed to a very high degree of preservation in the southern side of the site (Ives and Hogg 2012:19-20) whereas the coffins in the upper drier levels of the northern side displayed the same lack of preservation as the NBBG.

Table 6 shows the relative grave densities of the sections of the NBBG excavated. The Roman Catholic burial ground had a burial density three times that of the Presbyterian ground with the Anglican burial ground just above the excavation site average of 13.14 burials per 100m².

Table 6 Number of graves excavated from each section and estimated total number of burials (Rains and Prangnell 2002:27 Table 1)

Section	Total Area (m ²)	Excavated Area (m ²)	Percentage of Total Area Excavated	No. of Burials Identified	No. of Burials Removed	Density of Burials (per 100m ²)	Estimated Total Burials
Anglican/ Aboriginal	16200	2450	15.1	335	199	13.67	2215
Roman Catholic	4050	1150	28.4	219	163	19.04	771
Presbyterian	6070	550	9.1	37	35	6.73	408

As the Jewish burial ground was not subject to high impact intrusion during this phase of redevelopment, and the former Wesleyan Methodist, Congregational and Baptist burial grounds lay outside of the construction zone, no excavation work was undertaken in these sections. Therefore it is not possible to estimate the burial density for these denominations as the burial registers have not survived. (See Chapter Three for further explanation for the non-survival of burial registers.)

Almost all grave shafts contained evidence of only a single burial, except for seven double burials, vertically stacked, identified in the Anglican section (McGowan 2007:32); two sets in the Presbyterian section (McGowan 2007:34) and a single set in the Roman Catholic section (McGowan 2007:36). This is a marked contrast to contemporary burial grounds in the United Kingdom where coffin stacks of five or more in a single grave shaft were not uncommon e.g. Bethnal Green (Ives and Hogg 2012:v) and St Pancras (Emery and Wooldridge 2011:80-9). The topography of the site created areas of shallow soil profiles, especially in the Presbyterian section where bedrock broke through the 1914 surface level (McGowan 2007:34). To accommodate a greater number of burials in the Roman Catholic section, the distance between the graves was reduced but each burial was still in an individual grave shaft (Figure 8).



Figure 8 Closely-spaced children's graves Roman Catholic Burial Ground (UQASU C14-15)

Timeframe

This dissertation spans the years between 1859, when Queensland separated from New South Wales, and 1901 when the Commonwealth of Australia was created. This year marked the end of an era with the death of Queen Victoria, remembered now for its excessive displays of mourning and funerary ritual. Queen Victoria was on the throne for the entire study period, and for all but the first two years was in mourning for her husband Prince Albert who died of typhoid in 1861 (Priestley 1974:10). Around Queen Victoria's mourning developed a very strict code of practice detailed in its minutiae in numerous contemporary etiquette books. These were on the whole English but are known to have been purchased and read in Brisbane. While adhering as rigidly as possible to their familiar funerary culture, the population of Brisbane also had to adapt to their new surroundings and this in turn impacted on their choice of goods and services to consume.

Funerary Consumption

Since ancient times, the value and type of funerary goods consumed has been an indication of a deceased individual's social status (e.g. Parker Pearson 1999). Kephart (1950:635) found that the class differences which exist during life are observable after death through the examination of the expenditure on the funeral, burial and associated mourning and commemoration although these differences were diminishing over time as the more affluent classes simplified their funerary rituals and commemorative practices. A distinct middle class identity failed to emerge, with expenditure only differentiated by

degrees (Kephart 1950:643). Pine and Phillips (1970) were able to replicate Kephart's study as Pine combined his academic career with operating an undertaking firm in a small town in the United States (Pine and Phillips 1970:408). Therefore, Pine had unfettered access to what he termed 'direct funerary information' providing unequivocal evidence on what was actually consumed and by whom. Pine and Phillips discussed at length the degree that "funerals were *regulated* by social factors" (1970:414-5) and concluded that:

because people increasingly lack both the ceremonial and social mechanisms and arrangements that once existed to help them cope with death, monetary expenditures have taken on added importance as a means for allowing the bereaved to express (both to themselves and others) their sentiments for the deceased (Pine and Phillips 1970:416).

Research Questions

The primary research question is designed reveal funerary consumption in colonial era Brisbane.

What factors influenced the consumption of funerary goods and services in Brisbane in the last half of the 19th century?

To assist with answering the primary research question, four sub-questions, focussing on specific aspects are also investigated:

- **What factors influenced the consumer behaviour of the families and friends of the deceased in the dignified disposal of the remains?**

Those charged with the responsibility of arranging a burial had a very limited time to choose a coffin, coffin furniture, burial clothing, and to determine the location of the grave and its class (whether public or private). The first choice, for most, would have been the selection of the undertaker who would have guided the bereaved through the choices available. Their negotiations with the undertaker re the appropriateness of the goods to be consumed may have been influenced by a number of English etiquette books available for consultation in Brisbane since at least 1860 (e.g. *Moreton Bay Courier* 29 March 1860:3).

- **How did the funerary consumption of institutions differ from the consumption of family and friends?**

The institutionalisation of death was well established in Brisbane in the late Victorian era. Institutions buried their dead at public expense and used the services of whichever undertaking firm had the government contract at the time for a basic burial. Institutions such as the Brisbane Hospital had its own burial policy for disposing of corpses not claimed by families within hours of death and at times were at odds with the wishes of the family as letters to the editor attest (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 24 August 1875:2). Unrelated

male and female deceased were buried in unmarked common graves often without the services of a minister. Within the Brisbane General Cemetery, the burial practices in ground used by the Brisbane Hospital were different to that of the rest of the cemetery with a much higher grave density and systematic reuse of the graves.

- **To what extent did undertakers mediate the consumer behaviour of individuals and institutions?**

The latter half of the 19th century marked the professionalisation of burial (Griffin and Tobin 1997:173-191; Jalland 2002:118-124). The bereaved were faced with an increasing array of goods and services from which they had to choose. In addition, if the death had occurred in an institution, there was another layer of complexity which needed to be negotiated. The undertaker filled a number of roles from guiding the consumer decisions made by the bereaved, facilitating the possession of the corpse to acting (in today's parlance) as an event manager, ensuring that all parties concerned knew what to do, when, and where (Griffin and Tobin 1997:177-9).

- **What is the relationship between grave class and the range of funerary goods and services consumed?**

Queensland cemeteries established under the *Cemetery Act* (1865) were divided into areas (called portions) which were either allocated in their entirety to one of four grave classes or had a combination of grave classes. Table 7 defines the grave classes from the Brisbane General Cemetery (Toowong) which are used throughout this thesis. Similar grave classes existed at each of Brisbane's municipal cemeteries with some variation of the name. When a grave was 'purchased', it was actually the right to be buried in a specified grave which was purchased, not the actual ground, the ownership of which remained in the hands of the cemetery's trustees. In Queensland, burial rights in every cemetery established under this Act were granted in perpetuity, regardless of grave class, and the security of tenure perhaps encouraging the construction of expensive headstones.

Whereas Brisbane's undertakers frequently used the terms first class and second class in their advertising, this is relative to the goods and services which they had on offer and not related to the grave class of the actual burial. For example, undertaker Francis Murray owned two hearses; his 'best' and 'second-class' which he made available for any class of funerals at a range of prices (*Brisbane Courier* 31 December 1870:1).

Table 7 Definition of grave classes at the Brisbane General Cemetery (derived from the QGG 1874 XV (140):1546)

Grave Class	Conditions of purchase and common appellations
Class One	Burial rights of a private grave in a location of the purchaser's choice able to be purchased in a combination of widths to create exclusive enclosures. The right to erect a headstone is included. These are also called <i>first class</i> or <i>selected private graves</i> .
Class Two	Burial rights of a private grave with the choice of denomination but not of location. Graves only available as a single width, but adjacent graves may be purchased. The right to erect a headstone is included. These are also called <i>second class</i> or <i>unselected private graves</i> .
Class Three	Public grave with the choice of denomination but not of location. Graves only available as single width. Unrelated individuals of either sex may be buried in the same grave. Memorialisation is not permitted. These are also called <i>third class</i> or <i>public graves</i> .
Class Four	Public grave with neither choice of denomination nor location available for use by contracted undertakers. Unrelated individuals of either sex are buried in the same grave. Memorialisation is not permitted. These are also called <i>fourth class</i> , <i>common</i> , <i>pauper</i> , <i>contractor</i> , <i>hospital</i> or <i>institution graves</i> .

Funerary consumption on behalf of the dead buried in Class Three and Class Four graves is examined in this thesis to contrast the treatment of the dead belonging to the lowest stratum of Brisbane society by institutions as opposed to their treatment by family and friends. The burial of the destitute poor in a separate 'potter's field', commonplace in major North American cities (Kephart 1950:643), did not occur in Brisbane. As Victorian era British families did their utmost to avoid interment in a pauper's grave, North American families did the same to avoid the 'potter's field' where individuals are "stripped of all symbols which classify them as human beings. They are buried without flowers, without clothes, without graves and without names" (Kephart 1950:643). Brisbane's Class Four graves differ from 'potter's field' burial grounds in that the coffins were interred in individually dug graves and not stacked in long, open trenches which were progressively filled. Barnard (2009) examined the Beckett Street Cemetery, Leeds, United Kingdom, where three grave classes were in use; private (equivalent to Classes One and Two), Guinea (Class Three) and Common (Class Four). The Guinea grave itself was a compromise as it allowed those families who could afford £1/1/- burial in a common grave and the share of a headstone with up to 36 letters of inscription (Barnard 2009:54).

Rationale

Jalland's (2002) important work *Australian Ways of Death: A social and cultural history 1840 -1918* contains only one Brisbane case study despite its all-encompassing title. In the book's introduction Jalland notes:

Death in Australia has always been a diverse and individual experience and no single model is appropriate ... In attempting to provide helpful models and define parameters for analysis in a highly complex history of Australian ways of death, it is not possible to explore all the local and regional variations ... I hope that other scholars will pursue these regional, religious and class variations further (Jalland 2002:2).

This thesis is the first systematic study of funerals and burial in Brisbane and in it I investigate the consumption of funerary goods and services and the factors which influenced these choices. The archaeology of consumption is well-established and accepted in the field of historical archaeology (e.g. Crook 2000; Majewski and Schiffer 2009; Mullins 2011). However, the application of consumer behaviour theories has not been previously attempted in the funerary sphere in Australia. Internationally, a limited amount of research utilising these theories has been published. For example, Farrell (1980:184-211) is one of the few researchers who has applied consumer behaviour and decision-making theories in a small town in a rural county in the United States and found a link between the deliberate lengthening the interval between death and burial by undertakers who were then able to sell more goods and services to their clients. In the United Kingdom, Barnard (2009) investigates the consumers (individual and institutional) of the various grave classes at the Beckett Street Cemetery Leeds, but this highly detailed work is largely biographical. The funeral bills of only two burials (Class One and Class Four) are itemised (Barnard 2009:245-6) and the role of the undertaker in the mediation of this consumption is not examined.

To date some writers have made assumptions about Brisbane burial practices based on knowledge of British burial practices without taking into account local climatic conditions (e.g. Chamberlain 2014). It is unlikely that there were sufficient thirsty mourners travelling long distances to attend a funeral to warrant the construction of hotel accommodation convenient to the new Brisbane General Cemetery (Chamberlain 2014:388). Although the partaking of refreshments was an established part of the funeral ritual, it was in rural areas where wakes took place in public houses and were generally masculine affairs (Jalland 2002:259). This was at a time (1870s) when traveling the distance of ten miles to a burial, even with the advent of the railway to Toowong, was unfeasible due to time and distance constraints (e.g. Tom Petrie's inability to attend the funeral of his brother due to the distance from his location to the railhead even by wheeled transportation (Petrie, J. 1878)). This thesis explores the transmission of the British funerary and burial culture to Brisbane, how it was modified in the colonial sphere, and the material culture, associated with this adaptation.

Throughout this thesis, the purchasers of funerary goods and services, either individual or institutional, are also examined. Undertakers, as the facilitator of this consumption, are studied in their multiple roles of purchaser, consumer and retailer of the material culture of death and burial. In this aspect this thesis differs from the published histories of the undertaking trade (e.g. Chambers 1994; Liveris 1991; Nolan 2009). Kephart (1950) and Pine and Phillips (1970) make a compelling case for investigating funerary expenditure as a means of understanding the behaviour of people who lived in the past, their work has been little replicated in the United States or the United Kingdom. A number of researchers have included undertaker's invoices in their studies (e.g. Griffin and Tobin 1997:205-9) but these have tended to have been used for illustrative purposes only, with no systematic study of consumption, patterns and trends undertaken. Kephart (1950:643) concluded by calling for studies to be undertaken using the financial documents generated by a funeral and burial to determine which funerary purchases were the most reliable indicators of social class. Kephart and Pine and Phillips methodology of using undertakers' and cemetery records combined can be replicated to a certain degree in Brisbane. However, Brisbane's sub-tropical climate provides additional environmental factors, such as the need for rapid burial, and this in turn may impact on funerary consumption and the consumer decisions of the bereaved. The use of direct funerary information in tropical climates has not been attempted before.

Thesis Content and Organisation

This thesis systemically examines context surrounding the procurement, manufacture and use of funerary goods in Brisbane. Each type of consumer; individual, institutional and intermediary is treated separately according to the components of the FCM which is discussed in depth in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Two – Consumption and archaeology

Chapter Two commences with an examination of the theoretical models that have been previously used to examine consumption in the archaeological record including the General Model of Consumer Behaviour (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987) which incorporates membership of various consumer groupings such as symbolic groups, indirect/direct reference groups and the emergence of trend setters, style leaders, and arbitrators of reform. The conspicuous consumption and commodity culture of the Victorian era and the influence of social class are examined as is the ritual consumption pertaining to death and burial. The concept of three distinct classes of consumers of funerary goods; individual, institutional and intermediary, is introduced.

Chapter Three - Data sources and methods

The data sources for this study are divided into documentary and material culture. The methodology for data collection is presented as well as strategies used for dealing with the non-survival of some primary documentary data sources. The funerary goods recovered archaeologically are compared with the range of goods available for purchase in the documentary record.

Chapter Four – Brisbane death and burial

The documented rates and causes of death in Brisbane provides the basis for the estimation of the size of the funerary market in Brisbane, and the patterns of consumption which developed were in part determined by the setting of each individual's death. Victorian era death and burial practices in Britain and the other Australian colonies are examined to provide a comparative framework for the funerary practices conducted in sub-tropical Brisbane. The impact of the short interval between death and burial in Brisbane on the potential consumption of funerary paraphernalia is examined.

Chapter Five - Individual consumers

In this chapter, case studies of the funerals and burials of individuals are presented to demonstrate the type and cost of funerary goods consumed, and the various internal and external influences on the consumer decisions made. The case studies are representative of different consumer group memberships, consumption reform agendas and deliberate non-consumption of funerary goods.

Chapter Six - Institutional consumers

In this chapter the process and type of funerary consumption of Brisbane's institutional consumers is examined. The complex commercial relationship between major institutional consumers such as the Brisbane Hospital and the Brisbane Gaol, and the undertakers acting as the service provider is examined in detail. Mention is made of the increase of medicalisation and institutionalisation of death during the study period and the gradual reduction of the consumption of funerary services by Brisbane's medical institutions. The conspicuous consumption of funerary paraphernalia by religious institutions is highlighted for comparison.

Chapter Seven – Intermediary consumers

The intermediaries in this study are Brisbane's undertakers who operated between 1859 and 1900. They mediated the flow of goods between the manufacturers and the end consumers and provided funerary services for both individual and institutional consumers. Undertakers were the gate keepers of specialised knowledge which they did not always

use for the benefit of their clients. The conflict between the undertakers' profit motive and the financial health of the consumer is examined. The change in the type and range of funerary goods available for consumption and innovations in the industry are discussed. A discrete vocabulary item count of undertakers' advertisements is presented to demonstrate uniformity in advertising around the world and the methods used by undertakers to attract custom.

Chapter Eight – Modelling funerary consumption

This chapter draws on the data presented in the previous three chapters to introduce the *Funerary Consumption Model*. This new model combines and expands on existing consumption models for individual and institutional consumers by incorporating and defining the role of the intermediary in the provision of funerary services. Coffin furniture is used to demonstrate the flow of funerary goods from the manufacturer to the intermediary through product innovation, price and marketing efforts. The intermediary in turn markets goods to the individual and institutional consumers whose purchase decision making processes are subject to the external and internal influences presented in Chapter Two. The Funerary Consumption Model concludes with the goods being incorporated into the archaeological record. The applicability of the model to other locations, timeframes and non-funerary goods and services is examined.

Chapter Nine – Rest in peace

This chapter summaries the key findings of this thesis and discusses the broader theoretical contribution to the modelling of consumption, especially the consumption of funerary goods and services. This chapter addresses the strengths and limitations of this study, and the possible application of this research to other geographical and temporal contexts.





Chapter Two – Consumption and archaeology

Death is a universal event the human response to which calls for the consumption of numerous objects both ritual and functional. These objects make their way into the archaeological record when buried and are ultimately recovered as artefacts. The corpse, the coffin and any associated material culture represent deliberate deposition, as opposed to other cultural formation processes such as accidental loss or discard, therefore providing more direct evidence for choices made by past peoples (e.g. Parker Pearson 1999:94).

This chapter examines consumption, the general model of consumer behaviour and the influences on consumer decision making processes of individuals, institutions and intermediaries. Consumption is generally defined as “the personal expenditure of individuals and families that involves the selection, usage, and disposal or reuse of goods and services” (Darity 2008:105). However, this definition does not cover the consumption made by institutions and intermediaries which has been under-examined in the marketing literature (Blythe 2013:355).

A funeral as a product is difficult to categorise as it is a combination of goods and services, and as such does not fall neatly into the consumption literature of either. However, a funeral is a visually conspicuous product i.e. “one that will stand out and be noticed” (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:291). Veblen (1899) coined the term “conspicuous consumption” which he defined as a conscious effort to display wealth and position and secure mobility within a social hierarchy (Veblen 1899:46-7). Mullins (2012) observes that Veblen's acerbic expose of late-19th century consumption in Chicago, was driven by status hierarchies that harkened back to a ceremonial past when, rather than consuming things for their utility, consumers had been acquiring things as mechanisms to demonstrate social status (Mullins 2012:14). Veblen explained the conspicuous consumption he witnessed as public evidence of consumer's wealth and their mastery of social discipline and style (1899:47). The literature on the consumption of visually conspicuous products generally examines luxury items that signal status and are purchased by those seeking approval by their peer group or significant others (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:291). The conspicuousness of the product also is a factor of normative compliance i.e. the pressure exerted on the individual

to conform to the consumer behaviour of the rest of their peers (Blythe 2013 222-3). However, a cheap funeral was also a visually conspicuous product, the consumers of which would have preferred that it neither stood out nor was noticed as being thus associated brought social exclusion (Laqueur 1983:109).

Broad studies of consumption

Broad studies on social status and identity through of the consumption of goods and services in the Victorian era are numerous (e.g. Brewer and Porter 1993; Briggs 1989; Flanders 2003; Richards 1990; Wilson 2003). Thompson (1988:201) examined how maintaining a minimum level of respectability, especially in death, relevant to one's social class drove a number of consumer decisions in Victorian era Britain few of them beneficial to the consumer such as unregulated burial clubs. Karskens (1998) studied colonial era Sydney, New South Wales, mapping the transition from a convict society little affected by new notions of gentility and respectability emerging with the consumer and industrial revolutions to a more genteel and decorous notion of proper, respectable behaviour, expressed by an extraordinary range of consumer goods scaffolded by intricate mourning customs and rituals.

By the mid-Victorian era, the transition from small scale manufacture for local consumption to mass production for global consumption (especially amongst colonies of the Empire) was nearing completion. This increase in production drove down the price and brought a whole range of goods into the reach of the labouring classes for the first time. Relevant to this thesis is the mass production of coffin furniture which became so cheap it was consumed in huge quantities by every level of society (*Sydney Morning Herald* 25 August 1851:3).

Consumer Behaviour

Consumer behaviour theory is able to relate archaeological evidence to consumers to interpret the way acquisition and discard patterns affect the archaeology (Spencer-Wood 1987:323-4). Spencer-Wood (1987:325) attempted to forge a systematic definition of socio-economic status by including factors such as market availability, ethnicity and family size, but she considered "income or wealth, usually determined by occupation" as a major factor limiting consumer choice. This approach differs from the archaeology of death which primarily focuses on the ancient world, usually concerning unknown people who left behind few, if any, documentary sources which can give an explanation for the motivation behind an action (e.g. Parker Pearson 1999). The research presented in this dissertation places

its emphasis on funerary artefacts as commodities and examines consumer decision making processes. However, Wurst and McGuire (1999) critique focussing on choice in consumer goods as symbolically meaningful action and questions the artificial separation of production and consumption.

This section examines the consumer decision-making processes made by individuals, institutions (organisations) and intermediaries (professional service providers) as discussed in previously published literature.

Individuals

Individual consumer decision-making models focus not only on the buying behaviour of one individual but also include such scenarios as buying for a household, buying for another individual in the household and gift-giving where the decision-maker is not the end-user of the product. The costs of the purchases are borne within the household and the householders are the end users of the products (Jaakkola 2007). Unlike the other two classes of consumer under consideration, individual consumers are influenced in their purchase decisions by reference groups which Schiffman *et al.* (2014:289) define as “any person or group that serves as a point of comparison (or reference) in forming either general or specific values, attitudes or a specific guide for behaviour”.

Reference groups are divided into two types: *normative* which influences broadly defined and held values in a society; and *comparative* which serve as a benchmark for specific attitudes and behaviours of an individual comparing oneself to other groups in that society (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:289). When individuals adopt the goods and services used by the rich, famous or upper classes they aspire to a comparative reference group to which they will never be granted membership. There is a corpus of literature describing the lower classes’ aspiration to have all the finery and trappings of an expensive funeral in the misguided belief that they would gain the approval of their social peers (e.g. Puckle 1926:81-2, Stone 1858:67-8). Any reference group that is perceived as credible or powerful by an individual can induce change in their consumer behaviour (Blythe 2013:221). When consumers are primarily concerned with the acceptance or approval of others with whom they wish to identify, they will adopt their consumer behaviour. If the consumer is in an unequal power relationship with those in a comparative reference group, they will conform to the group’s consumption behaviour to avoid ridicule or societal disapproval (Blythe 2013:222).

However, when the upper and educated classes attempted to simplify and make less costly funerals in the United Kingdom in the late 1850s, their efforts were not considered credible by the lower classes and were largely ignored (Jalland 1996:195). The social elite simply dismissed the desire of one of their own to be buried in a plain manner as a mild eccentricity (Stone 1858:66-7). However, the lower classes had an expectation of how an respectable funeral should look and strove to emulate it, which may explain why feather boards and mutes continued to be used in London's poor East End decades after they had been abandoned by the upper classes (Litten 2002:141). Table 10 lists eight categories of funeral expenditure which were widely published (Cassell 1869:292), so individuals were aware how much their peer's funerals would have cost.

Schiffman *et al.* (2014:289) state that "an individual who has first-hand experience with a product or service, or can easily obtain full information about it, is less likely to be influenced by the advice or example of others". With Brisbane's high mortality rate (viz. Chapter Four) having first-hand experience of arranging a funeral was common. However obtaining full information about the products to be consumed was quite difficult. Although undertakers' advertisements appeared in the newspapers daily from the 1860s showing who was available to perform a funeral, these advertisements did not show what was available for purchase and how much it cost.

Seeking the advice of recently bereaved friends and neighbours, or attending the funerals of others, was the only way of obtaining information on what products and services were on offer. The marketing literature ranks reference groups into a hierarchy based on the level of personal contact the individual consumer has with members of the group. After family, friends are the second most likely group to influence the individual's purchase decisions. Bearden and Etzel (1982) contrasted the influence of direct (immediate family and friends) verses aspirational reference groups on the consumer decisions made by individual consumers and concluded that goods used in the private sphere were most influenced by the former and goods which were subject to display were more influenced by the latter.

An extension of the friendship group is the 'shopping group' where two or more people shop together primarily for a social experience but also to reduce the risk of making a poor purchase decision with expensive or visually conspicuous products (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:292). While men generally had the responsibility of dealing with the undertaker (Jalland 2002:129-30), in the case of a widow with no other male relatives in the colony,

she could make arrangements with another woman, generally another widow, to minimise the risk of financial exploitation (e.g. K.M. Smith 1885:48). An examination of the funeral orders of undertaker John Smith for 1885 reveal that less than 9% of funerals were arranged by one or more women (K.M. Smith 1885).

The reference groups summarised in Table 8 can affect individual members through the modification of their behaviour by a process of socialisation where individuals understand which behaviours are acceptable in the group and which are not (Blythe 2013:220). Pressure exerted by a group achieves conformity where individuals change their consumer behaviour to match that of the group and are also used for social comparison (Blythe 2013:221). An individual wondering what the neighbours would think about the funeral package they are about to purchase is an example of this pressure at work. The degree of pressure to conform is relative to the motivation of the individual to be accepted by a group, especially if it is an aspirational goal (Blythe 2013:222).

Table 8 Summary of reference groups (adapted from Blythe 2013:216-224)

Reference Group Type	Definition	Examples from this thesis
Primary	A group of people most often seen face-to-face who share similar beliefs and behaviour.	Family Close friends Work colleagues
Secondary	A group of people seen occasionally with whom exists a shared interest.	Friends
Aspirational	A group of people one wishes to join but is denied membership.	The Social Elite
Dissociative	A group of people one does not wish to join.	Inmates of an institution
Formal	A group of people with a recorded membership and a written set of rules	Workplace sickness and burial clubs Fraternal societies Funeral Reform Association
Informal	A group of people with no recorded membership and an unwritten set of rules	Neighbours
Automatic	A group of people by reason of sex, race or another non-changeable factor.	Widows Chinese
Shopping	A group of people who shop together in order to reduce the risk in a conspicuous purchase.	A new widow accompanied by another widow to make funeral arrangements.
Brand	A group of people with a shared interest in a specific product brand.	Not applicable

Institutions

Institutional consumers, also known as organisational consumers, buy products, materials, equipment and services to run their own organisations (Blythe 2013:375). Institutional consumers tend to have written rules and procedures for selecting suppliers and placing orders (Blythe 2013:380). In addition, these purchase decisions are subject to audits and documentation requirements not usually required for the individual consumer (Johnston and Lewin 1996). Brisbane's hospitals, for example, were required to put out to tender annually their contracts for the supply of funeral services and the total annual expenditure was published in the annual report and subject to scrutiny of the Hospital's Board and subscribers.

Robinson *et al.*'s (1967) organisational buying model is relevant for describing the buying behaviour of Brisbane's institutions. Created before the advent of the internet which facilitated new models of buying behaviour, Robinson identified eight phases: identification of need; determination of requirement; specific description of the product; search for potential sources; examination of sources; selection of sources; order routine established; and evaluation of performance (Robinson *et al.* 1967:40-44). Although originally developed for industrial and manufacturing consumers, this model closely mirrors how institutions such as gaols and hospitals, acquired their goods and services. The model further describes three 'buy classes': new buy; modified rebuy; and straight rebuy (Robinson *et al.* 1967:42). When an institution is established or a new need is identified the purchase is described as a new buy. If the tender conditions changed (e.g. a change of coffin type or burial location) then the purchase is a modified rebuy. However, most institutional purchases of funerals were straight rebuys with the costs and specifications remaining unchanged across a number of tender periods.

Intermediaries

A third class of consumer is that of the intermediary or professional service provider. In this class, the products and services which are acquired are used by consumers (both individual and institutional) but are chosen by professional service providers (Jaakkola 2007). Jaakkola examined the purchase decision making processes of all three classes of consumer and concluded that "professional consumer services represents a unique setting for purchase decision-making and cannot be considered equivalent to the organisational consumer setting" (Jaakkola 2007:93). Although Jaakkola investigated professional service providers such as accountants, lawyers, architects and financial advisors who make decisions about the use of their clients' money usually after an extended period of

intimate contact, the framework and propositions devised by Jaakkola can be equally applied to undertakers. Even though this contact is necessarily briefer, it may extend over a number of years if there are multiple deaths within a household. Jaakkola notes that “despite professional service providers’ influence on the purchase decisions for many products and services, this aspect of their work has been given very little consideration in the literature ... our knowledge of buying behaviour that is facilitated by service providers is severely limited” (Jaakkola 2007:94).

Individual/institutional consumers are in a direct purchasing relationship with the suppliers of the goods which they purchase, whereas the professional-service provider acts as the intermediary between the supplier and the end user. The consumer may be completely ignorant of the origin of the product which they are purchasing. This is especially true of undertaking. Maister (1993:23-7) identified three different types of professional service providers: expertise based; experience based; and procedure based. Procedure based intermediaries perform the same or similar services for a variety of clients to the point which the service provision becomes routine to the provider. The provision of a funeral is an example of procedure based service.

An essential distinction between purchase decisions in individual/institutional and professional-service contexts is whose interests and needs the purchase serves. Usually individual/institutional consumers act to advance their own interests whether it is buying for personal or internal consumption or reselling to make a profit. Individual/institutional consumers are assumed to hire professional service providers to serve their own not the provider's interests to make purchasing decisions about goods and services of which the consumers may lack specialist knowledge. However, applying this assumption to the Victorian era undertaker would be short-sighted indeed. There are numerous references to the pernicious behaviour of undertakers not acting in their customers’ best interests (e.g. Dickens (1852), Laqueur (1983:114-5) and Waters (2008:125-140)). On other occasions, undertakers’ lack of application to the regulations and the requisite paperwork landed both themselves and their clients in court (e.g. *Telegraph* 16 March 1892:6).

The provider may be tempted to oversupply the service and undersupply the effort when the client is unable to determine which actions are appropriate and when the quantity and quality of the service effort are difficult to verify. In the Victorian era, undertakers’ accounts were rarely itemised, cost breakdowns not provided and often included a catch-all entry ‘professional services’ (e.g. Smith 1900). That this business practice was tolerated by the consumers was due to the mismatch in the degree of power exercised by the undertaker

over the bereaved which in this age of increased consumer scrutiny, is becoming less acceptable to them (Larkins 2007:29-30). Usually the consumer/professional service provider relationship is balanced by the customer's experience, expertise and knowledge of the product to be purchased often gained by research and 'shopping-around' (Schwartz *et al.* 1986).

Another source of power is the status accorded to the professional by societal mandate. Jaakkola's (2007) research focused on professionals whose expertise was developed by formal higher education and the superior power position that some professional hold relative to the customer. The first part of this statement is certainly true for undertakers in the last decade of the 19th century as the industry started to organise itself and offer training and certification, but try as they might undertakers were not going to achieve the same social status as medical professionals for instance (McManus 2013:89).

In the context of professional services, there is typically an external regulatory environment which imposes codes of conduct in line with the minimum societal expectation. Many professions in Queensland during the colonial era were self-regulating with professional associations in charge of peer evaluation, licensing and sanctioning of unprofessional and unbecoming behaviour e.g. doctors (Pearn 1994). Professionals are autonomous in their purchase decisions, free of the influence of non-members of the profession and guided by the rules and norms set and shared by the profession. Undertakers therefore had the capacity to influence or dominate their customers' decisions to choose and acquire funerary products and services whether they were desired by the customer or not.

Individual consumers in turn sought the services of a professional because they lacked the expertise or ability to decide for and by themselves or because they wanted to enhance their chances of making the right decision on a significant matter that carried a high degree of risk and irreversibility. While individual consumers may lack the specialist knowledge to judge the value of the professional's product or service, they could however, compare the service with that supplied by competitors. A professional service providers' incentive to provide a quality service or product would be the desire for repeat business; many Brisbane families staying loyal to a firm of undertakers for more than three generations (see the Harris Family in Chapter Five).

Jaakkola (2007:103-4) summarises the relationship between the individual/institutional consumer and the professional service provider in five propositions:

- (1) *The professional service provider's relative influence on the purchase decision is positively related to the client's perception of the provider's expertise and competence;*
- (2) *The professional service provider's relative influence on the purchase decision is positively related to the client's perception of the complexity and risk associated with it;*
- (3) *The client's relative influence on the purchase decision is positively related to his/her experience and/or knowledge of the matter to be decided on;*
- (4) *The influence of the professional service provider's personal motives on the purchase decision is negatively related to the amount of information the client possesses on the matter to be decided on; and*
- (5) *The client's relative influence on the purchase decision is positively related to the importance the professional service provider places on customer satisfaction.*

These five propositions are applicable in that undertakers were considered by their clients to be competent to perform a complex public ritual which carried a high degree of social risk if it was not performed to societal expectations. Individual clients relied on the undertaker's knowledge of prevailing norms to perform a funeral with the correct degree of nuance relative to the social standing of the deceased. With the professionalisation of the undertaking trade from the 1870s, the skill of preparing a corpse for burial in the home was lost or surrendered creating a knowledge vacuum which was filled by practitioners who, during the study period, did not require any form of qualification (Jalland 2002:121). Towards the end of the 19th century the undertaking industry had a virtual monopoly of information pertaining to the trade therefore increasing the degree of reliance and power consumers placed in their hands. However, the undertakers in turn had to maintain an acceptable level of service and conduct to endorse their emerging membership of the professional class through the "pseudo-scientific nature of their work" (Parsons 1999:130) and to attract repeat custom.

In addition to these five propositions Jaakkola (2011) described the concept of 'productisation' which consists of:

- Specifying and standardising the service offering;
- Tangibilising and concretising the service offering and professional expertise, and
- Systemising and standardising processes and methods.

The standardisation of the service offering was true of the undertaking industry in the mid-19th to late-20th centuries. Venbrux (2009) and Suzuki (2009) examine the commodification of death in which the funeral ritual is defined as series of cost-calculable products which can be purchased to create a whole ritual with product information provided exclusively by the service provider. Tharp (2003) links the rise of respectability with the commodification death. Since the start of the 21st century, there has been a proliferation of individualised funerals reflecting the personality of the deceased and/or survivors. This is discussed at the global level by McManus (2013) and at the personal level by Caswell (2011).

Archaeology of consumption

There is not one single definition of the archaeology of consumption. Mullins (2011:134) in examining a vast array of archaeological studies which included an element of consumption, concluded that many archaeologists have a very narrow definition of consumption as being “simply a moment in the flow of goods throughout the social world, a discrete instance in a good’s life that is isolable from its manufacture, marketing and discard.” Martin (1993) argued that consumption, consumerism and materialism were terms which could be used to describe the complex position objects had in an industrialised society and that the consumption studies undertaken by archaeologists and historians should take on a more interdisciplinary approach and encompass the study of consumerism.

This concept was considerably expanded upon by Majewski and Schiffer (2009) highlighting the contribution that archaeology can make to the study of consumerism. Using household ceramics to demonstrate the flow of goods through a consumer society, they suggested that “every sort of artefact can furnish instruction on how studies of consumerism and consumer societies can be empirically grounded” (Majewski and Schiffer 2009:193). They described a consumerist archaeology built on six methodological commitments and established a framework for the archaeology of consumerism constructed from long-term research studies. Majewski and Schiffer divided these research studies into two main types: ‘foundation studies’ which provide the basic description of the artefact, its manufacture, life cycle and ultimate disposal; and ‘life history of product types’ which in industrial consumer societies pass through the three stages of invention, commercialisation and adoption (Majewski and Schiffer 2009:193-4). Using coffin furniture as an illustration, the first two phases occurred in the United Kingdom with only the third occurring in Australia. Majewski and Schiffer define adoption as the ‘purchase of commercialised products’ and that “reliable data on adoption are surprisingly difficult to obtain from documentary evidence” (2009:194).

Consumption models and the archaeological record

A general model of past consumer behaviour was adapted by Henry (1991) from Schiffman and Kanuk (1987). Henry added the levels of use, post-use disposition and entrance into the archaeological record to Schiffman and Kanuk’s decision-making model. Henry’s model of consumption focussed entirely on patterned behaviours, arguing that “motivations, goals, perceptions, personalities and attitudes would be virtually impossible to identify in ceramic sherds and tax records” (Henry 1991:11). Crook (1999:67) further

modified the model to insert post-disposition movement before reaching the archaeological record (Figure 9). All the above models do not adequately describe the processes involved in the decision making, acquisition, use and disposition of items purchased and consumed in a funeral and burial. The model makes the assumption that there is only one class of consumer; the individual/household consumer. It makes no allowance for the acquisition and use of funerary goods by institutional and intermediary consumers as defined above. This type of acquisition is addressed by the FCM which is detailed in Chapter Eight.

External influences on purchasing decisions

The external influences on the purchasing decision in Crook's general model are divided between marketing efforts and the socio-cultural environment. The individual consumer is usually directly influenced by the marketing efforts of the product manufacturer. This does not apply in the case of funerary goods as these products are not directly marketed to the end consumer. The socio-cultural environment in this case exerts a stronger external influence with reference groups enforcing the rigid rules of etiquette which ultimately control consumer decisions in both funerary and mourning goods. Mullins (2012:62) notes that etiquette manuals occasionally appear in archaeological scholarship as seemingly accurate representations of expected behavioural practices, social and material ideals. Archaeologists routinely measure consumers' success in reproducing these ideals modelled on etiquette manuals, and much of this scholarship at least implies that consumers consciously worked to reproduce these idealised norms. These etiquette rules prescribed every detail of the management of the death bed, the household in mourning, arranging the funeral and burial. The bereaved of Brisbane followed the English guides which they would have been familiar with and were available for sale locally, regardless of the unsuitability for tropical conditions of the advice proffered (e.g. Cassell 1860; Cleveland 1873; Punch 1855; Watson & Co. 1861). American etiquette books initially closely modelled their English counterparts before developing their own models of behaviour shaped by the American Civil War in the 1860s (e.g. Atkins 2002; Faust 2008). It was not until the mid-1880s that the first etiquette guides were written specifically for the Australian context (e.g. Erskine 1902, People's Publishing 1885).

For the other classes of consumer these external influences apply to different extents with the funerary goods manufacturers devoting their marketing efforts directly to the intermediary. Institutional consumers are distanced from the producers and may be subject to some direct influence by the intermediaries in the form of undertakers competing for tenders.

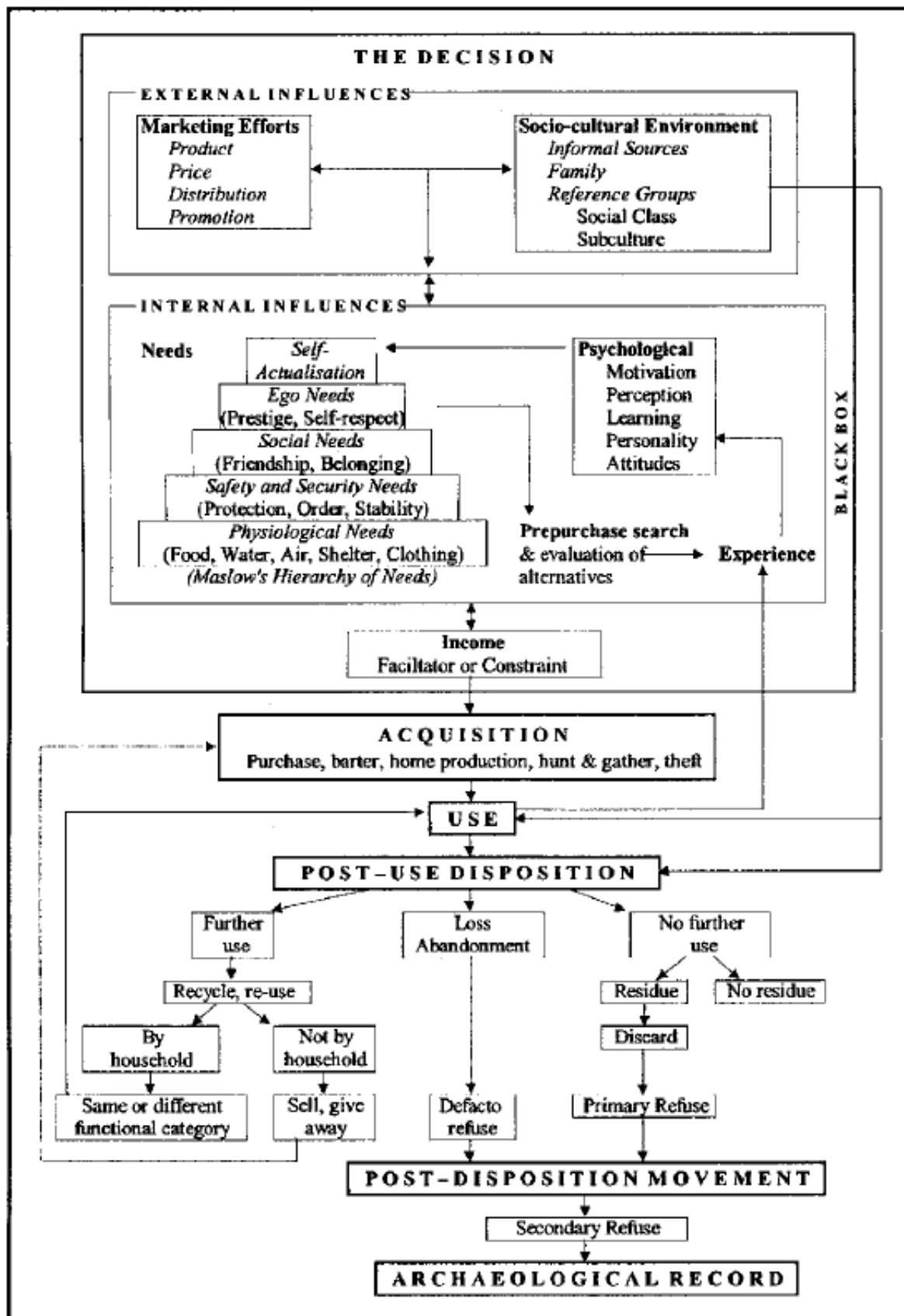


Figure 9 Crook's (1999:67 Figure 8.1) General model for the acquisition and use of consumer goods modified from Henry (1991:5 Figure 1)

Internal influences on purchasing decisions

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs influences purchase decisions to differing extents (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:90-3). The lower order need for safety and security in the disposal of the corpse for health reasons is the most pressing of needs. Although some would argue that fulfilling the higher social need of belonging and ego need of prestige and self-respect by purchasing a funeral beyond the financial means of the bereaved would have a negative impact on the ability of meeting the most basic of physiological of needs; the putting of food on the table and buying clothes for the children.

The rapid burial culture of Brisbane precluded the pre-purchase search and evaluation of alternatives as there was no time to 'shop-around' and physically evaluate the quality of the product i.e. the coffin. From the late 1850s the undertaking industry spatially reorganised itself with the introduction of 'shop-fronts' removing the coffins from the view of the purchaser (Griffin and Tobin 1997:50). The coffins were still made on-site or nearby but this activity was now in a separate sphere and the purchase was conducted in the office. Customers, however, could bring the knowledge of other funerals which they had attended to their purchase decision. They may have wished to emulate the funeral of an individual they particularly respected, admired or even wished to be like (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:291-2) by establishing who the undertaker was who conducted the burial and requesting a similar package.

Income

Income is usually a facilitator or constraint on the purchase decision. Undertakers generally allowed the payment of funerals in instalments allowing the bereaved to purchase a more expensive funeral than would have been otherwise afforded e.g. the Class Two burial of Edward Gormley £10/14 paid in ten instalments (Smith 1887:306). The lower classes paid for funerals either equal or greater than their incomes and the wealthier classes purchased funerals which were a relatively small proportion of their income (Pine and Phillips 1970:409). In the United States sex also influenced the proportion of income expended with women at every status level outspending men especially on conspicuous items in the funeral package for their husbands (Pine and Phillips 1970:409-10). The funerary expenditure patterns by sex in Brisbane is presented in Table 20.

Acquisition

Prior to the professionalisation of the undertaking industry, the coffin was constructed by anyone in the vicinity with the requisite carpentry skills. It was conceivable that these could

have been acquired by barter. In colonial Sydney during the 1810s and 1820s, a shortage of coinage led to grain and other property being accepted as part-payment for the provision a coffin (*Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 30 January 1819:4). The winding sheet and/or shroud, if used, were the product of home production, with brides sewing burial garments as part of their trousseau (Richardson 2001:21). Children's coffins could also be home-made especially in families which suffered multiple childhood deaths. Timber was recycled from various sources (e.g. McGowan and Prangnell 2009).

Use

In Brisbane as a provision of *Cemetery Act* (1865) Schedule D the coffin was only expected to be used once but that use was in a very public sphere. The higher order Maslow need of social (belonging) and ego (prestige and self-respect) may have some influence on its selection (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:92).

Post-use disposition

When a burial is performed there is a general expectation by the bereaved that the corpse will remain undisturbed for eternity, especially after the transition from churchyards to cemeteries (Rugg 2000:262). Crook's (1999) modification of post-use post-disposition movement section of Henry's model partly addresses actions such as exhumation but other parts of this model require modification to more accurately describe the corpse and coffin post-burial. Based on the data presented in this thesis a new model is presented in Chapter Eight.

Cook *et al.* (1996) emphasise shopping as the meaningful action at the very heart of consumption, concentrating on the acquisition of the product before it reaches the archaeological record. Crook (2000) expands on the significance of shopping and places it in the Australian context. Consumption does not end with the burial. Depending on the financial means of the bereaved, there were many goods which could be purchased to commemorate the dead such as flowers and immortelles to decorate the grave, the erection of a headstone, memorial jewellery and paraphernalia, which the consumer, relieved of the time pressure of rapid burial, could shop around for.

Undertakers' records as evidence of consumption

Kephart (1950:638-42) showed through the use of funeral director and cemetery records in mid-20th century Philadelphia that while the total expenditure on a funeral did rise in direct correlation with the disposable income of the bereaved, the lower classes expended a higher proportion of their financial resources, and the upper classes had comparatively

more modest expenditure as their social standing was already secured. When Kephart (1950:640) correlated the interval between death and burial, he found that the shortest interval was in the upper classes and the longest in the lower classes. Kephart draws a number of conclusions including that the lower classes are less 'prepared' for a death despite its higher frequency amongst them as they often lack the appropriate clothing for the bereaved and themselves and money needed to be found to make these purchases (Kephart 1950:640).

Pine and Phillips (1970) used the financial records of funeral firms to investigate the relationship between funeral expenditure and the "bereaved's sentiments for the deceased" (Pine and Phillips 1970:406). They noted that "funeral expenditure is considered to be an indicator of the culturally defined contemporary reaction to death" (Pine and Phillips 1970:408). Relationships investigated included funeral expenditure and social status, sex, age of the bereaved, spousal relationship to the deceased and the expectedness of the death (Pine and Phillips 1970:409-13). The authors concluded that "because people increasingly lack both the ceremonial and social mechanisms and arrangements that once existed to help them cope with death, monetary expenditures have taken on added importance" (Pine and Phillips 1970:416).

Burial excavations

Archaeologists have studied burials as a means of learning about people in the past since the 18th century. Tarlow and Stutz (2013) map the global development of the field and the excavations of burials which date from pre-historic to post-medieval times. Cherryson *et al.* (2012) focusses on the post-medieval burial excavations in the United Kingdom and Ireland. A significant source of knowledge of the consumption of death has been derived from the excavations of post-medieval crypts, burial grounds and cemeteries. As these were placed under development pressures, especially in crowded urban areas, they were cleared by undertakers and specialist contractors and the remains were cremated and/or reburied without any archaeological investigation. There were clearances of London's parish churchyards from the mid-1850s onwards after they were closed for new interments following the passing of a series of *Burial Acts* (Wiggins 1991). Some churchyards were exhumed and the remains reinterred in parish burial grounds at Brookwood, Surrey (Clarke 2004), others had their headstones removed completely or relocated on-site and the land was converted to open public space. This process continued unimpeded in the United Kingdom until the 1980s (Arnold 2007; Bard 2008; Brandon and Brooke 2008; Holmes 1896). Such treatment of historical era burial grounds denied archaeologists the

opportunity to excavate the burials of known individuals, and the ability to compare the choice of the coffin with that of the headstone. Knowledge of the socio-economic status of the deceased derived from census data could have provided important information to the archaeologists regarding the choice of material culture incorporated in the burial.

The excavation report (1984-1986) of the crypts of Christ Church, Spitalfields, London (Reeve *et al.* 1993) created the bench mark for the description of material culture, analysis of the artefacts, and context of the contemporary socio-cultural environment. This was the first of a series of excavation reports in which the osteology and the material culture of a major post-medieval burial site was examined. Osteological studies are outside of the scope of this thesis. Of particular note in the treatment of material culture are the excavation reports of St Martin's-in-the-Bull Ring, Birmingham (Brickley and Buteux 2006) and St Pancras Burial Ground, London (Emery and Wooldridge 2011). Both discuss funerary culture and the undertaking and allied manufacturing trades at some length. Brickley and Buteux (2006:224) summarised the activities of the 19th century Birmingham coffin furniture industry drawing on Aitken's (1866:193) history of the Birmingham brass founding industry.

Miles (2011:166) in his evaluation of the coffin furniture excavated from St Pancras created a hierarchy of 18th and 19th century London burial places as a predictor of the types of coffins and coffin furniture that might be expected to be excavated (Table 9). As these burial places pre-date the establishment of private and municipal cemeteries, the grave classes do not directly equate with those Brisbane cemeteries shown in Table 7.

It should be noted however, that excavations of crypts and burial vaults produce a skewed sample of higher quality coffin furniture as these interments were the preserve of the social elite and were more expensive than earth burial in the surrounding churchyard. Boston *et al.*'s (2009) excavation of the crypt beneath St George's Church, Bloomsbury, produced an almost exclusive sample of affluent burials with triple lead-lined coffins and an expanded range of higher quality coffin furniture than had been excavated at other contemporary London burial grounds such as New Bunhill Fields, Southwark (Miles and Connell 2012). Bashford and Sibun (2007:108-112) investigated a Greater-London Quaker burial ground and which contained a private in ground vault contrary to the tenets of the religion and showing a consumption pattern different to the majority of surrounding earth graves.

Table 9 Hierarchy of burial places (adapted from Miles 2011:166) with representative published archaeological reports added

Rank (Highest to lowest)	Burial location	Coffin type	Archaeological investigation
1	Private vault within the parish church	Triple construction with a lead lining	Boston <i>et al.</i> (2009)
2	Public vault within the parish church	Triple construction with a lead lining and some wooden single shell	Boston (2005)
3	Private vault in the parish churchyard	Triple construction with a lead lining and some wooden single shell	Bashford and Sibun (2007) Brickley and Buteux (2006) Cowie <i>et al.</i> (2008);
4	Parish churchyard	Wooden single shell and some triple construction with a lead lining	Baker <i>et al.</i> (2011); Brickley and Buteux (2006); Emery and Wooldridge (2011); Harding (1987); McKinley (2008)
5	Parish and other extramural ground	Wooden single shell	Adams and Colls (2007); Connell and Miles (2010) McCarthy <i>et al.</i> (2012); Ives and Hogg (2012); Miles and Connell (2012)

Chenoweth (2009:322-3) presented further examples of burial practices including the use of elaborate coffins and furnishings which varied from the beliefs of Quakerism. McCarthy *et al.* (2012) in the excavation of the burial ground belonging to the Littlemore Baptist Chapel, Oxford, found that the consumption of coffin furniture matched that of contemporary Anglican churchyards and was not as plain as predicted. Cowie *et al.* (2008) were able to directly compare the material culture of brick-lined vault and earth burials on the same site at Chelsea Old Church which eliminated any variables between resident populations and their study confirmed Miles' (2011) prediction that the method and place of burial on a site bears a direct relationship to the type of coffin and furniture consumed.

Photographic evidence of coffins *in situ* in London crypts also supports this prediction (e.g. Johnson 2013:165). It would appear that across these sites, irrespective of denomination, there is a correlation between coffin construction and the type/construction of coffin furniture used; i.e. single-shell wooden coffins generally had pressed tin furniture while triple-shelled coffins were furnished with brass fittings.

Material culture of burial

Few illustrated works have been published on the material culture of the Victorian era burial (opposed to funerals and mourning) the most significant omission is the coffin and its furniture especially in the United Kingdom. British archaeologists were late in coming to the study of the material culture of burial as it was “an neglected, under-documented aspect of post-medieval archaeology, owing to the poor preservation of the material itself and perhaps limited post-excavation budgets” (Mahoney-Swales *et al.* 2011:228). Previously, cemetery populations were valued for the data extracted on the pathological conditions suffered by the population (e.g. Manchester 1984) and the coffins, where found, were discarded without being recorded or investigated further. Later osteological studies (Boston *et al.* 2008) recognised the value of studying the associated material culture in the burials. However, due to the time pressures placed on cemetery salvage excavations conducted in conjunction with commercial exhumation contractors, archaeologist are restricted to sampling the material culture (e.g. Emery and Wooldridge 2011:6-9). Emery and Wooldridge (2011:205) observed that as a disproportionate priority recovering coffins rich in material culture could bias the osteological sample towards higher socio-economic-status burials, an equal number of unadorned coffins would also need to be retrieved. There is an expanding corpus of research examining the relationship between material culture of burial and commemoration, and the multi-faceted expression of identity such as religion (e.g. Sayer 2011a) and culture (e.g. Laviolette 2003). Sayer (2011b:211) concludes that social differentiation can be identified through the comparison of material culture consumed by funerary practices across local, regional and national contexts. However, significant material culture variation can exist within a single cemetery context or even within a single group. For example, Chenoweth (2009:336) concluded that despite variation of material culture in burial practices, group identity, in this case Quakerism, was a bond held in common regardless of sex and class.

In the United States, Springate (2015) uses data from manufacturers' catalogues, patent files and archaeological investigation to map the development, manufacturing, marketing and consumption of 19th century coffin furniture (casket hardware). Springate (2015)

expands on her earlier work on examination of coffin furniture catalogues from the rapidly industrialising north-eastern USA (Springate 1998). Springate (2011) also observed the use of British coffin furniture in a burial ground in New York before the establishment of the American coffin furniture industry and the repurposing of domestic furniture handles for use of coffins. Hacker and Trinkley's (1984) analysis of a collection of unsold coffin furniture discovered in a general hardware store in South Carolina is supplemented by an examination of contemporary trade catalogues and identifies a number of classes of coffin furniture consumed in the American south from the mid-19th century and shows how the styles have evolved compared with their British counterparts. Davidson and Mainfort (2008) contrasted the late-19th century funerary assemblage from a small Arkansas family cemetery and a nearby Methodist Cemetery and found a great variety of thumb screw designs in a rural setting serviced by a general hardware store rather than an undertaker. McKillop (1995) examined the handles from children's coffins in Ontario, Canada; noting the number used, size compared to adult handles and decorative motifs used exclusively for children. Woodley (1992:45) analysed the coffin furniture recovered in the Stirrup Court cemetery, Ontario which operated between 1840 and 1890. The mix of American and English coffin furniture demonstrates the transition from Commonwealth loyalty to familiar designs and manufacturers in England to the pragmatism of importing coffin furniture from the American manufacturers located just over the border (Woodley 1992:61). Two breastplates excavated from this site (Woodley 1992:55-57) are identical to specimens excavated at the NBBGs (Murphy and Rains 2003:18-19).

Lang (1984) examined patent registrations for innovation in casket design in the USA from 1848 to 1982 mapping the transition from hexagonal to rectangular shape occurring between 1845 and 1865. This mix of hexagonal and rectangular shapes was also observed by Woodley (1992:52) who showed that the hexagonal shape was the predominant form in Ontario in the mid-19th century. The method for constructing coffins, including regional variations, is found in Hasluck (1913) and Sable Plume (n.d.).

Product data on what was available for consumption (rather than what was actually consumed) can be found in trade catalogues, commercial directories, mail order catalogues and newspaper advertisements. Historical archaeologists, primarily in North America, have utilised these resources to study a diverse range of artefacts. O'Dell (1990) examined purpose-made shrouds and burial garments in New York State from 1840 to 1920 emphasising the importance of catalogue and photographic evidence as textiles survive poorly in the archaeological record. The discovery of coffin hardware on coffins

from the Uxbridge (Massachusetts) Almshouse Burial Ground emphasises “the problematic nature of archaeological inferences directly linking coffin hardware with socioeconomic status” (Bell 1990:72). Owsley *et al.* (2006) describe an exhumation in which the deceased was buried in a distinctive patented iron coffin. Catalogue research was able to identify the coffin, and date the design, which assisted with the identification of the deceased. Other excavations adopting a similar methodology have been conducted in Tennessee, (Allen 2002); Kansas, (Pye *et al.* 2004); and Indiana, (Ross-Stallings *et al.* 2009).

Catalogues of funerary products are unexpectedly difficult to locate as these were not consulted by end consumers but by the undertakers who ordered a range of goods on behalf of their clients. The coffin and its furniture is one of the few major purchases where the consumer is completely ignorant of the brand, so that the usual marketing efforts from the producer to the end consumer do not apply in this case. Schwartz *et al.* (1986) concluded that funeral services were generally purchased without prior knowledge of costs, available alternatives, under substantial time pressures and when the buyer was in a vulnerable emotional state and unlikely to shop around and make comparisons of price and quality. The undertakers marketed their products and services to the bereaved and rarely made mention of the origin of products being consumed, only their perceived quality.

Archaeological research into the consumption of branded goods has revealed a complicated tangle of structural influences, marketing networks and consumer intentions (Mullins 2012:160). However, the perceived need of the consumer shaped by their impression of the symbolic and functional utility of a particular brand is absent in unbranded goods such as coffins and coffin furniture. Victorian era branding invoked pleasant emotional associations and experiences with a particular product through the use of visually appealing but disassociated imagery on the goods in question (Mullins 2012:159). However, as the paraphernalia of death was never likely to create these pleasant emotional associations, this may explain the total lack of effort by funerary goods manufacturers to brand their goods.

Archaeological data from Australian burial grounds which illustrate consumer behaviour are very rare. As with other geographical contexts, much of the data from the excavations of historical era cemeteries can only be found in the ‘grey literature’ of unpublished reports, artefact catalogues and data sets (LeeDecker 2009:149). Two excavations at the Randwick Destitute Children’s Asylum Cemetery (Coultas 1997) and St. Mary’s Anglican

Churchyard Pauper Cemetery (Matic 2002) produced very few funerary artefacts. The former demonstrates consumption by an institution and is marked by the total absence of decorative coffin furniture while the latter shows that some degree of consumer behaviour was conducted by the family and friends of the lower class deceased who were predominantly not from institutions. The only other recorded assemblage of funerary artefacts is from the excavation of Cadia Cemetery, New South Wales (Higginbotham 2002). Cadia Cemetery operated between 1864 and 1927, the first ten years overlapping the operation of the NBBG. As a general cemetery, it accommodated the burial of all social classes, but its isolated rural environment may have restricted the choices available to consumers. Unlike the partial excavation of the NBBG, the excavation of Cadia Cemetery was complete. A total of 111 individuals were excavated at Cadia. As there were only 104 registered burials, the excavation team were confident that all burials were retrieved thus eliminating the potential of sample bias. In addition to the finds expected in a cemetery excavation (coffin, skeletal material, buttons etc.), the Cadia site produced a quantity of small finds of a household nature i.e. food containers and crockery (Higginbotham 2002:Appendix Two). Similarly, in a Presbyterian adult burial (F160) at NBBG, a grey-glazed white earthenware plate was found face down in the coffin between the right elbow and pelvis. The eight-inch diameter plate featured a basic moulded floral design on the rim (Prangnell and Rains 2002:50). It may have been originally placed on the stomach and dislodged during transportation to burial. Hardwick (1872:181) stated that “this practice particularly in Leicestershire is done with the view of preventing air from getting into the bowels and swelling the body”.

Marine archaeology provides an unexpected source of the material culture of burial. As an island continent, Australia’s funerary goods (or the raw materials from which to manufacture them) arrived by ship. Therefore, the study of shipwreck cargoes is a relevant to understanding consumption of goods at a particular point in time as shipwrecks generally provide datable contexts for artefacts (Lawrence 1998:8). Staniforth (2009) synthesised the published artefact studies of Australian shipwrecks from the colonial era to examine the establishment of consumer society in the Australian colonies. Staniforth (2009:98) concludes that there was a desire for colonists to maintain cultural continuity in their new homes through recognisable material culture. This may explain why a sizeable quantity of coffin furniture was recovered from the wreck of the *Dunbar* which sank off Sydney in 1857 (*Courier* 7 August 1862:3).

Literature on death and dying

Many Victorians were obsessed by the minutiae of the death bed, the act of dying and whether or not the death was a 'good' death, i.e. the dying person was surrounded by their loving family and friends and had time to make their final wishes known and make spiritual preparation (Jalland 1996:2-3). A 'bad' death when none of these elements were possible (Kellehear 2007:87-104). An array of literature describing 'good deaths' was produced by the affluent classes either as unpublished letters and diaries (e.g. Mitchell 1866:375), published for limited circulation around family and friends or for mass consumption as books, magazines and newspaper articles (e.g. Sewell 1870). Jalland (1996:161-189) explored the great solace that the Victorians took on last words and sentiments.

To the Victorians and Edwardians, death in war was considered a 'bad' death due to its sudden and to a degree unexpected nature and this may have contributed to the paucity of death-related literature after the end of World War One, described by many social historians as the end of the 'long Victorian era' (Jalland 2006:18-20). The pioneering work of French historian Philippe Ariès in the 1970s (e.g. Ariès 1975) regenerated broader interest in the field of death studies which had been appropriated since the 1960s by the palliative care sector (e.g. Green 2008; Kübler-Ross 1969; Seale and Van der Geest 2004). The concepts 'good' and 'bad' death also changed meaning encompassing more the physical over spiritual preparation for death by the terminally ill.

The act of dying and its associated rituals has been studied in general at the opposite ends of the British social class spectrum. Despite the fact that industrialisation and urbanisation of the United Kingdom during the Victorian era greatly swelled the ranks of the middle classes, there is comparatively little published about their funerary practices. Strange (2002 and 2005) examined the lives and deaths of the British urban poor and their efforts to die in their own beds rather than an institution. Death in the workhouse and the possibility of medical dissection was particularly feared by them and was examined in the United Kingdom by Richardson (2001) and MacDonald (2010) and in Australia by MacDonald (2005). A public fascination with body snatching for medical dissection and the exploits of Burke and Hare has produced its own body of literature (e.g. Adams 1972; McCracken-Flesher 2012; Storey 2007).

Responses to death and dying in the middle and upper classes in the United Kingdom are examined by Rappaport (2011) Roberts (2008) and Wolffe (2000); and in the United

States by Stannard and Ariès (1975) and Swedlund (2010). Death and burials of Royalty and the 'great and the good' were extensively covered by the newspapers and magazines of the day, providing comprehensive knowledge of the consumption of funerary goods by the elite.

Haines (2003) explores the deaths of Australia-bound emigrants aboard migrant ships and showed how the passengers tried to make the death and burial experience as familiar as possible. Jalland (2002) also covers the immigrant experience, extending the coverage to comprehensively discuss most aspects of death and dying in Australia during the colonial era, building on the work of Griffin and Tobin (1997), Nicol (1986), and Kellehear (2000). Jalland discusses the colonial Australian inheritance of this British funerary trade pointing out amongst other things the incongruity of black plumes and ushers with crape-covered wands in the Australian context (Jalland 2002:118-122).

The supply of ritual artefacts for the purpose of burial of the dead created multiple interconnected industries which spanned the globe from Birmingham to Brisbane. These artefacts included the paraphernalia associated with Victorian era funeral, burial and mourning rituals. In the United Kingdom these have been studied in detail since resurgence in interest pioneered by Curl (1972). Other writers have followed; the Victorian era providing a wealth of settings to explore (e.g. Mehaffey 1993; Morley 1971; Packard 2000). The intricacies and etiquette of mourning costume, and the development of the crape manufacturing industry which was driven same, are covered by Cunnington and Lucas (1972) and Taylor (2009). These authors examined the influence of normative compliance on widows to make additional and more expensive purchases, than they otherwise could afford.

To a large extent, during the 19th century, the expenditure on a burial was discretionary, that is to say, more than the minimum amount necessary for the disposal of a corpse. "The whole funeral system is an extravagant imposition, and has been for years. It may be said that the heavy trappings, the plumes, the scarves &c. are going out of fashion; and this is true, but other things are taking their place" (Holmes 1896:257). Up to the mid-18th century, the majority of the British population was buried in their parish churchyard, wrapped only in a shroud; a dignified Christian disposal of the corpse at little expense to the survivors. Litten (2002:5-31) outlines the subsequent history of the development of the funerary trade to its apogee in the mid-Victorian era and its gradual decline and simplification during the 20th century. Farrell (1980) and LeeDecker (2009) trace a similar

trajectory in North America. Farrell also concludes that the lengthened interval between death and burial as a result of embalming from the 1880s, created more opportunities for the purchase of funeral goods and that the undertakers' inventories expanded accordingly.

The British undertaking trade was well established by the late-17th century, catering to the needs of the nobility and upper classes for whom funerary rites were prescribed by the College of Arms (Litten 2002:13-4). By the early-Victorian era demand for the undertakers' services were spreading down through the middle and working classes. Litten (2002:170-1) contends that social success was measured in the Victorian era by material possessions and monetary wealth with the funeral a public demonstration of the success of the deceased. Looking to the upper classes for guidance and inspiration, the lower classes copied what they saw passing them by in the streets and created a demand for ornamental paraphernalia which the undertakers were only too willing to supply. Chadwick (1843:108) noted that most consumers of funerary paraphernalia were ignorant of their original meaning.

Conclusion

The descriptive literature surrounding death and burial in the Victorian era is expansive with a significant body devoted to the exploitative consumer relationship between undertakers and their clients fuelled by societal expectations of how the bereaved should act. However, this literature does not address the complexities of other relationships which formed after a death. The influences of consumer behaviour on funerary goods by competing reference groups has not been previously examined to any great extent, nor has the power exercised over consumers by intermediaries.

This is the first research into the funeral industry in which the consumer relationships amongst the three types of consumer; individual, institutional and intermediary, are examined.





Chapter Three – Data Sources and Methods

In order to answer the research questions of this thesis, it was necessary to investigate the records generated by death and burial of the individual, and the documents created by the business of burying in Brisbane between the years 1859 and 1901. On the whole, these have proved to be incomplete; either not surviving to the present day or the data not having been captured in the first place. A wide range of personal, institutional and corporate data sources have been consulted both in Australia and the United Kingdom. Hospital and undertakers records, previously exploited for demographic and genealogical data were examined for the first time for evidence of funerary consumption and consumer decision making processes. The archaeological record therefore increases in importance in providing data absent from the historical record. In the case of the NBBG, the excavated material culture can tell us what was actually consumed from an array of goods that was available for purchase.

Documentary sources

Many of the primary sources used in this investigation, especially the Brisbane General Cemetery Burial Registers and the undertakers' funeral order books, have been subjected to academic study for the first time. Published histories of Brisbane and its institutions have been consulted and where necessary the primary sources used in the writing of these histories have been re-examined to extract data on death and burial which has not been previously exploited. Of particular interest is data on the cost of funerals and the effect this cost had on the decisions made by the family and friends of the deceased in the disposal of the corpse.

Individuals

Although death generates a number of record types about an individual, the quantity of death and burial records preserved in Brisbane is very small. It is not possible to identify a single individual for whom the record of a burial location, photograph or detailed description of their coffin and cost of the funeral survives before 1901.

Death certificates

Civil registration of deaths in Queensland commenced in 1856, three years prior to Separation from New South Wales. Prior to the *Registration Act (1855)*, burials were recorded in parish registers which were collated in Sydney. The death and burial of many individuals were not recorded in the early colonial period. Queensland death certificates, held by the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, differed from their English counterparts in that they also recorded the place of burial; (i.e. the name of a burial ground or cemetery) but not the actual grave number or location. Deaths were registered in three series; *B* for deaths which occurred within a five-mile radius of the Brisbane General Post Office; *C* for deaths occurring elsewhere in the colony and *M* for deaths occurring at sea which were registered at a Queensland port. For the purpose of this thesis, only *B* series deaths have been examined because the registration boundaries stayed constant during the colonial period making it possible to make statistical analyses and comparisons of causes and rates of mortality.

Burial registers

No burial registers or grave plot plans have survived for any of the denominational burial grounds which made up the NBBG. These were not kept centrally but by each denomination and were not able to be found in 1914 when the NBBGs were closed (*QPP* 1914:95). The implication of this is that no individual deceased can be identified in the Brisbane registration district prior to 1871 when burials commenced at the Brisbane and South Brisbane General Cemeteries. These burial registers were supposed to be kept as specified by the *Cemetery Act (1865)* (*QGG* 1865 VI (9):937). The burial registers of the Brisbane General Cemetery are much richer in detail than those of South Brisbane, including time of burial, making the calculation of the interval between death and burial possible. For this reason, statistical analysis of Brisbane burials post-1875 are conducted only using data from the registers of the Brisbane General Cemetery. The Brisbane General Cemetery Burial Registers are held on site at the Sexton's Office with a preservation copy at the Queensland State Archives.

Funeral notices

The *Moreton Bay Courier* commenced publication as a weekly newspaper in June 1846 and bi-weekly from 1858. It was not until this newspaper commenced tri-weekly publication in December 1859 that funeral notices began to appear. Prior to this date only notices of death appeared, often days or weeks after the death. Only 32 death notices and a single

funeral notice were published in the *Moreton Bay Courier* in 1859 and 39 death notices and a single funeral notice were placed the following year. The majority of death notices were for people who had died outside of Brisbane, notably in the United Kingdom. On the 14th May 1861, the *Moreton Bay Courier* was succeeded by the *Courier* which was published daily, except Sundays. This allowed the placement of funeral notices rather than death notices. This change had an immediate effect on the number of funeral notices, increasing to ten in 1861. The *Courier* was succeeded by the *Brisbane Courier* in April 1864. Early Brisbane funeral notices are of limited usefulness in identifying in which of the NBBGs the interment occurred as this detail is rarely mentioned. These morning newspapers have been digitised as part of a collaborative project hosted by the National Library of Australia and made available for browsing and keyword searching through the Trove interface. Brisbane also had a number of afternoon newspapers including the *Telegraph* which carried a significant number of notices for funerals occurring the following morning.

***In Memoriam* notices**

On occasions neither a death nor funeral notice appeared in the newspaper at the time of the death. The reasons for this could be varied from financial constraints to rapidity of death and burial. An *In Memoriam* notice could be placed on the anniversary of the death as time and financial resources allowed. For example, no funeral or death notice was placed for stonemason George Hancock at the time of his death in June 1876 but an *In Memoriam* notice was placed on the eleventh anniversary of his death (*Brisbane Courier* 1 June 1887:4). Jalland (2002:172-6) examined *In Memoriam* notices as a means of a secular form of commemoration. The first of this type of notice appeared in Australia in Adelaide, South Australia in 1883, followed by Sydney in 1884 and Melbourne in 1885 (Jalland 2002:173). In Brisbane, the first *In Memoriam* notice appeared incorporated with the death notices in June 1885 commemorating the first anniversary of the death of politician and customs collector William Thornton (*Brisbane Courier* 27 June 1885:1). The *Brisbane Courier* did not establish a separate *In Memoriam* classification until July 1886 when a notice was placed for John de Poix Tyrel who had died in the previous year (*Brisbane Courier* 15 July 1886:1). From late August 1887, the *Brisbane Courier* commenced charging three shillings for the insertion of these notices (*Brisbane Courier* 25 August 1887:4) reinforcing the fact that they were placed by socially prominent people with financial resources. Initially, *In Memoriam* notices contained only the details of the deceased and date of death but not always the name of the inserter (for example a notice

placed in memory of “Mary Tucker relict of the late George Salt Tucker who departed this life 1st of September 1886” (*Brisbane Courier* 1 September 1887:4). Over the next decade, *In Memoriam* notices started to incorporate verses, which became lucrative for the newspapers which charged by the line (Jalland 2002:174).

Diaries

First-hand accounts of death and burial in colonial Brisbane are rare. The notable exception is the diary of Blanche Mitchell (1843 – 1869) which documents the deaths and preparation for burial of a seventy-five year old woman and a four month old infant, both of whom were interred in the Anglican Cemetery at the NBBG. Mitchell was the youngest child of Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor General of New South Wales from 1828 to 1855 whose sudden death brought a sudden change in the family’s circumstances. As a single woman with limited access to financial resources, Mitchell spent the last years of her short life staying with relatives and visiting acquaintances of her father. On a visit in September 1866 to the Brisbane home of Treasury Under-secretary William L.G. Drew, Mitchell detailed the deaths of Drew’s mother-in-law and infant daughter who died within three weeks of each other. The diary is a rare insight into how corpses were cared for in the home by women before the professionalisation of post-mortem preparation outside of the home by the undertakers later in the 19th century. The diary is held by the Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales and has been microfilmed.

Photographs

A photograph of an identified individual in their coffin provides direct evidence of how the corpse was prepared for burial and what goods (if any) were purchased to perform this part of the funeral ritual. It can also give an indication of the level of expenditure on the coffin relative to the socioeconomic status of the deceased and/or their family and friends. Unfortunately, no post-mortem photographs taken in Brisbane between 1859 and 1901 survive in public collections. Post-mortem photography of the corpse does not appear to have been practised in the colony of Queensland as almost all the dead were buried on the day they died or the day after, so arranging a photographer to capture a final image may not have been practical. Professional photographer Ralph Snowball photographed a handful of funerals, showing the coffins, around the Newcastle region of New South Wales between 1893 and 1899 (Snowball 1893, 1896a, 1896b, 1899). Snowball’s contemporary, William Corkhill, took a series of photographs in Tilba Tilba, New South Wales, including one of a mother holding a young child dressed in a shroud (Corkhill 1900) and a set of a

funeral in 1895 (Corkhill 1895). Photographs of the funeral cortèges of prominent individuals started to appear in Brisbane newspapers from the 1890s, for example that of Lieutenant James Gartside (*Queenslander* 26 March 1898:602). However, the coffins' construction and furniture are very difficult to identify as they are usually covered by palls, flags or flowers.

Income and socio-economic status

In order to determine how much of a commitment a funeral was on an individual's financial resources, it is necessary to determine their average weekly earnings. Indexed wage data were not collected in the colony of Queensland until 1891 (Vamplew 1987:154). Reliable and continuous series of statistics showing wages for the study period are sparse (Vamplew 1987:149). The salaries and conditions of individuals employed by the Queensland Colonial Government in any occupation (professional, skilled or unskilled) were published annually in the *Queensland Blue Book* from 1859.

To compound this problem of determining the relative economic status of an individual, the household schedules listing the names, occupations, ages and place of birth of every census taken in Queensland between 1861 and 1901 were routinely destroyed after the statistical data was extracted (Vine Hall 2002:533).

Etiquette Books

Cassell's Hand-book of Etiquette (1860) was available for sale in Brisbane for 1s 3d (*Queenslander* 9 December 1871:12) placing it in reach of those who could afford it. However, it is unlikely that the advice was followed. For example, "the funeral generally takes place eight days after the demise" (Cassell 1860:64). A combination of Brisbane's sub-tropical climate and the absence of insect screened houses would have made keeping a corpse, even on ice, impossible. Watching the corpse was rarely more than an overnight ritual for even for those belonging to the highest echelons of Brisbane society (e.g. Mitchell 1866:374-6). "Four-and-twenty hours after death being the usual limit within which a funeral must take place in this climate, there is no time for our making the elaborate preparations which used to be common in the old country" (*Brisbane Courier* 3 July 1876:6). It is obvious the dilemma that Brisbane's heat would have caused a British immigrant family accustomed to taking advice from these guides.

Cassell's Household Guide (1869:292) itemised the goods which would generally be consumed in a graduated scale of price points (Table 10).

Table 10 Charges of a London undertaking firm reproduced in *Cassell's Household Guide* (1869:292)

Cost	Goods consumed
£3/5/-	Patent carriage with one horse; smooth elm coffin, neatly finished, lined inside with pillow etc.; use of pall, mourners' fittings, coachman with hat-band; bearers; attendant with hat-band, etc.
£5/5/-	Hearse with one horse; mourning coach with one horse; stout elm coffin covered with fine black, plate inscription, lid ornaments and three pairs of handles, mattress, pillow and a pair of side sheets; use of velvet pall; mourners' fittings, coachmen with hat-bands and gloves; bearers; attendant with silk hatband etc.
£6/6/-	Hearse with pair of horses; mourning coach and pair; strong elm coffin covered with fine black, plate inscription, lid ornaments and three pairs of handles, mattress, pillow and a pair of side sheets; use of velvet pall; mourners' fittings, coachmen with hat-bands and gloves; bearers; attendant with silk hatband etc.
£8/15/-	Hearse with pair of horses; mourning coach and pair; velvet covering for carriages and horses; strong elm coffin covered with fine black, plate inscription, lid ornaments and three pairs of cherub handles and grips, and finished with best black nails, mattress, pillow and a pair of side sheets; use of silk velvet pall; two mutes with gowns; silk hat-band and gloves; four men as bearers, and two coachmen with cloaks, hatbands and gloves; use of mourners' fittings; and attendant with silk hat-band.
£14/14/-	Hearse with pair of horses; mourning coach and pair; 15 plumes of black ostrich feathers, and complete velvet covering for carriages and horses; strong inch elm coffin with inner lid, covered with black cloth, set with two rows all round of best black nails; lead plate of inscription, lid ornaments, four pairs of handles and grips, all of the best improved jet and bright black, tufted mattress, lined and ruffles, and pillow; fine cambric winding-sheet; use of silk velvet pall; two mutes with gowns; silk hat-band and gloves; eight men as pages; and coachmen, with truncheons and wands, crape hatbands etc.; use of mourners' fittings; and attendant with silk hat-band, etc.
£23/10/-	Hearse and four horses; two mourning coaches with pairs; 19 plumes of black ostrich feathers, and complete velvet covering for carriages and horses; strong inch elm shell, covered with black; tufted mattress, lined and ruffled with cambric, and pillow; fine cambric winding-sheet; inch elm case to receive the above, covered with black cloth, lead plate of inscription, lid ornaments, four pairs of shield handles and grips, and furnished with two rows all round of best nails; use of silk velvet pall; two mutes with gowns; silk hat-band and gloves; 11 men as pages; and coachmen, with truncheons and wands, crape hatbands etc.; use of mourners' fittings; and attendant with silk hat-band, etc.
£30	Hearse and four horses; two mourning coaches with pairs; 19 plumes of rich ostrich feathers, complete velvet covering for carriages and horses, and an esquire's plume of best feathers; strong inch elm shell, covered with black; tufted mattress, lined and ruffled with superfine cambric, and pillow; full-worked fine cambric winding-sheet; outside lead coffin, with inscription plate and solder complete; stout inch elm case, covered with superfine black cloth, set with three rows round, and lid panelled with best black nails; registered lead plate of inscription, lid ornaments to correspond, four pairs of handles and grips all of the best imperial black; use of best silk velvet pall; two mutes with gowns; silk hat-band and gloves; 12 men as pages, feathermen and coachmen, with truncheons and wands, crape hatbands etc.; use of mourners' fittings; and attendant with silk hat-band, etc.

Cost	Goods consumed
£53	Hearse and four horses; two mourning coaches with fours, 23 plumes of rich ostrich feathers, complete velvet covering for carriages and horses, and an esquire's plume of best feathers; strong inch elm shell, covered with black; tufted mattress, lined and ruffled with superfine cambric, and pillow; full-worked glazed cambric winding-sheet; stout outside lead coffin, with inscription plate and solder complete; one and a half inch oak case, covered in black or crimson velvet set with three rows round, and lid panelled with best brass nails; stout brass plate of inscription, richly engraved; four pairs of best brass handles and grips, lid ornaments to correspond, use of best silk velvet pall; two mutes with gowns; silk hat-band and gloves; 14 men as pages, feathermen and coachmen, with truncheons and wands, crape hatbands etc.; use of mourners' fittings; and attendant with silk hat-band, etc.

These data provides a point of reference that will be used for comparison throughout the thesis.

Institutions

Hospital records

Information about deaths which occurred in Brisbane's major hospitals from 1859 – 1901 can be found through a number of sources. The summarised minutes of the meetings of the Brisbane Hospital Committee were printed fortnightly in the Brisbane newspapers including the details of the number of patients admitted, discharged and died (often with the cause of death). Primary sources such as the minute books have survived for the entire period. These are summaries of the committee meetings and as such do not contain copies of original correspondence such as tender applications for the provision of funeral services or letters of complaint concerning the contracted undertaker, occasionally aired in the newspapers. Nor do they contain copies of the weekly medical report and weekly administration report; only stating that these documents were tabled. This data, including the number of deaths in a week, can be extracted from the *Brisbane Courier*. Only a single volume of letters has survived covering the period 1862-1867. In addition, only one cash book, covering the period January 1884 to December 1885 has been preserved at the Queensland State Archives. The Register of Deaths and Special Removals 1899 – 1913 lists the names of the patients, the date of death and whether the body was removed by the contractor, another undertaker or even by the family members themselves. So for the final three years of the study period, accurate data can be obtained as to the proportion of funerals that were Hospital paid.

The survival of the records of related institutions such the Hospital for Sick Children is also incomplete. The minute books for the first ten years of this institution's operation have not survived so the only source of information is the summary of the committee meetings and

annual reports published in the Brisbane newspapers. The admission registers of the numerous private and cottage hospitals which operated in colonial Brisbane have, on the whole, not been preserved. As these records were not generated by a government institution, they are not preserved at the Queensland State Archives. For example, the existence of Alice Cottage which operated in Alice Street in Brisbane City circa 1868 to 1871 is known through the funeral notices of two patients who died there, but no additional information is known about this facility.

A number of histories have been published about Brisbane's hospitals as they reached their respective milestones, for example the sesquicentenary of the Brisbane Hospital (Tyrer 1993). These are useful in providing background information on the establishment and administration of the institutions but have focused on their achievements (i.e. curing patients) rather than their 'failures', for example, their mortality rates and the death and burial of their patients.

Jalland (2002:201-2) compiled statistics on the number of deaths in hospitals and benevolent institutions from Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia between 1861 and 1901, showing a death rate around 20% towards the end of the period and rapidly rising. From 1895, the Registrar General of Queensland collected figures of deaths in public institutions and made comment that the mortality figures for the Brisbane Metropolitan area were skewed due to the number of medical institutions which had opened (three in 1901 alone) and many of the patients were not from Brisbane, some having travelled from North Queensland. The mortality rate for 1901 was over 30% (Registrar General of Queensland 1902:13).

Prison records

While the records of Brisbane prisoners themselves are complete, the records pertaining to the actual operation of the Brisbane Gaol (cash books, order books etc.) have not survived. Detailed newspaper reports describe the death and often the burial of those executed, but data surrounding those who died in gaol of natural causes have not survived.

Religious institution records

The burial records for Brisbane of the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church are kept in their respective Diocesan archives but are not detailed and provide no additional information on funerary consumption. For example the Anglican burial register from 1843

to 1865 only lists the date of burial, name & age of the deceased, last address (usually at town level) and officiating minister (Anglican Church of Southern Queensland 1865). The actual place of burial was not recorded. Consumption data in this section was extracted from the undertakers' funeral order books (see below) and local newspapers.

Intermediaries

In an undertaking business, records were generated in conducting the business as well as those specifically related to the deceased. Like any businesses, account books would have existed to record income from funerals and expenditure on the goods, materials and salaries consumed in the funeral as well as the other inputs needed to operate the business.

Undertakers' funeral order books

The undertakers' funeral order books typically list the name, address and age of the deceased, the type of coffin and transportation for the corpse ordered and any extra purchases such as shrouds and wreaths. The amount of detail varies greatly from firm to firm, with a detailed breakdown of costs rarely given. No undertakers' funeral order books survive for the period that the NBBG were in operation (1843 – 1875) and the post-1875 coverage is incomplete. Of the 42 undertaking businesses identified in the *Moreton Bay Courier*, *Courier* and *Brisbane Courier* from 1859 – 1901, the order books of only four have survived. For example, when Alex Gow bought out the long established firm of Sillett & Barrett in 1909, which had been trading under various business names since 1875, he started a fresh set of order books. The order books of Gow's predecessors, with a potential lineage stretching back to the Petrie family in 1840s, have not been located.

The earliest surviving undertakers' funeral order books are those belonging to the firm now trading as K.M. Smith commencing in January 1877 with some minor gaps. Cabinetmaker John Smith took over the business of established undertaker William Walsh in March 1883, and therefore these records are a combination of funeral orders placed with both firms. After John Smith's death in 1886, the firm was carried on by his widow Kate Mary Smith. Alfred Cannon and Joseph Cripps commenced their undertaking business in 1886. However, the first surviving records of the firm which became Cannon & Cripps date from July 1897. The funeral order books were microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of Queensland (GSQ) purely for their value to family historians as they captured information about the deceased as name, age, last address, and the person, usually a relative, responsible for the payment of the account. K.M. Smith also added cause of death and

occupation of the deceased or deceased's father (for children) from the mid-1880s. This additional data provides a valuable insight into the socio-economic status of the deceased and an indication of the financial commitment of the funeral package chosen.

Uncovered by the author while researching this thesis were the order books of undertaker Sophie Miller who traded as S. Miller after taking over the business of Mrs O'Rourke in August 1899. Miller sold her business to A.E. Atkins in March 1904 and these records were rebound under the Atkins name and are held by the SLQ. The most significant gap in the coverage of funeral order books is the absence of the records belonging to J.&J. Hislop (later John Hislop & Sons) who, from the evidence of newspaper funeral notices, conducted a disproportionately high number of Class One funerals, so the range of funeral costs for this class of funeral presented in Chapter Five will be underestimated by an undetermined amount.

It is possible to use the surviving order books to calculate the average cost of a Brisbane funeral, especially towards the end of the study period when more than one firm's records can be compared. Table 11 shows the funerals itemised as a percentage of the *B* series death registrations in Brisbane for each of the sample years. The year 1900 represents the highest proportion of coverage so averages derived in this year are most likely to reflect Brisbane as a whole.

Table 11 Coverage of surviving Brisbane undertakers' funeral order books for selected years in the study period

Year	Number of funeral records	Percentage of Brisbane death registrations	Firm(s)
1877	177	24	William Walsh
1885	524	48	John Smith
1895	231	25	K.M. Smith
1900	792	81	K.M. Smith, Cannon & Cripps, S. Miller

Undertakers' invoices

Undertakers' invoices are a summary of the cost of the funeral which was presented to the family or friends of the deceased for payment. Only a handful of these (one prior to 1901) have been located in private collections. The undertakers' invoice also served as a form of direct advertising with the letterhead featuring not only contact details but a wide array of post-funeral goods and services offered by the undertaker.

Other business records

The business documents of Brisbane's undertaking firms which would have detailed the wholesale purchase of goods and payment for services have not been located prior to 1901 with the exception of one diary. In 1885, undertaker John Smith used an exercise book to initially record the expenses pertaining to his six black horses (e.g. feed, shoeing, veterinary treatment) but gradually expanded his entries to include comments about his competitors, business conditions and purchases of coffin furniture etc. from England. The original volume is held by the John Oxley Library. Apparently missing are ledgers for cash sales of retail items such as wreaths and memorial cards. If funerary goods were sold in conjunction with a funeral, the record of their sale is preserved, so it is possible to obtain an indication of the retail price of the goods but not the total volume sold.

Newspaper and directory advertisements

Like any other business, undertakers advertised widely in newspapers and journals, especially those connected with religious and fraternal organisations (e.g. the Catholic *Freeman's Journal* or the Protestant *Queensland Evangelical Standard*). Brisbane's undertakers started appending their names to funeral notices in 1860, but this did not become a standard practice until 1863. Prior to this, classified advertisements placed by undertakers were sporadic and usually an adjunct to another line of business such as cabinet making. From the mid-1860s, Brisbane's population expanded rapidly, so that the undertakers could not rely solely on 'word of mouth' to obtain business and started to advertise more frequently in newspapers to make their name known to new arrivals. A count of discrete vocabulary items in each novel advertisement (n=87) placed by Brisbane's undertakers between 1859 and 1901 in the *Brisbane Courier* and its predecessor titles was conducted. This analysis was useful for pinpointing when particular events occurred in the undertaking industry, for example the introduction of embalming in May 1895, the gradual reduction in the use of plumes, or the expansion of other product lines from the mid-1890s.

Post office, official and trade directories were published annually in Brisbane from 1859. Directories allowed for the placement of display advertisements by undertakers in addition to their classified entry. Display advertisements (half or full page) allowed the inclusion of visual elements. These were also examined in this thesis.

Photographs

Brisbane undertakers were very keen to use the medium of photography to promote their businesses. From the 1880s, both Cannon & Cripps and J. Hislop photographed their empty hearses and horses outside their premises in various configurations to show potential clients what was available. However, no photographs of the inside of their premises or displays of coffins appear to have been taken. In 1873, at Gulgong, on the New South Wales goldfields, the American & Australasian Photographic Company photographed two undertakers standing outside their primitive premises (American & Australasian Photographic Company 1873a, b). One featured an impressive display of imported coffin furniture in their shop window (American & Australasian Photographic Company 1873b).

Manufacturers' trade catalogues

The Victoria and Albert Museum in London have only three trade catalogues of coffin furniture dating from 1783 to 1826 showing what was available in the United Kingdom but no indication of which pieces should be used together. Prices written on these catalogues indicate that name plates and lid motifs were sold by the dozen and handles and grip plates by the dozen pairs.

No British trade catalogues for coffin furniture; shrouds etc. between 1859 and 1901 have been located in Australia in the public domain. This mirrors the situation in the United Kingdom where manufacturers' catalogues are preserved from 1783 to 1826 and then isolated and incomplete examples up to 1900 (Hoile 2013:27). Catalogues from the United States of America are more numerous for this period (Springate 2015:81-95) but none of the coffin furniture recovered from the NBBG has the same stylistic features as coffin furniture manufactured in the United States.

Registered Design registers

The lack of trade catalogues can be compensated for to a certain degree by the Registered Design Registers held at the National Archives, Kew, England. Registered designs proliferated the United Kingdom in early-1840s following the implementation of the *Copyright of Designs Act 1839* (2&3 Vict c17) and then the *Ornamental Designs Act 1842* (5&6 Vict c100). For example, coffin furniture manufacturers began to register designs to differentiate themselves in an increasingly crowded market and to be able to charge a premium for the new designs. Payment of the £3 registration fee (in 1842), which provided a degree of copyright protection was no guarantee that the design went into production

(Halls 2013:217-8). While the Registered Design Registers (Board of Trade Design Registers BT-44) are useful for mapping the change in fashion for many classes of goods associated with death and burial, and determining a *terminus post quem* for archaeologically recovered artefacts, they do not provide any information about the manufacture of the goods other than the name of firm registering the design and no indication of the cost of the goods. I photographed every registered coffin furniture design from 1839 to 1884 inclusive during three visits to the National Archives, Kew between 2012 and 2014. Registered designs post-1884 are available, but these have not been individually catalogued, requiring the researcher to physically view tens of thousands of design drawings for all material classes arranged only by registration date order.

Suppliers' records

The preservation of records generated by specialist wholesalers and retailers, e.g. florists, is especially poor. No relevant business records and retail catalogues for the study period have been located in Brisbane.

Material Culture

While some documentary evidence is still extant, the material culture record is fragmentary. By definition, once the coffin and its furnishings are interred, they are never intended to be seen again. From ships' cargo manifests published in the *Brisbane Courier*, it is known that coffin handles, by the hundred-weight, were imported from the United Kingdom. Manufacturers' moulds, unused stock and registered design books can still be sourced in the United Kingdom in various depositories including the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Undertakers and emporiums advertised in the *Brisbane Courier* that they were in receipt of the latest catalogues from Courtaulds of London, the leading manufacturer of crape and of coffin furniture of the latest registered designs.

Compared to England and the United States, there have been few excavations of Victorian era burial grounds in Australia. Those which have been excavated were salvage operations ahead of urban expansion and redevelopment with the emphasis on locating unmarked graves and the osteological study of skeletal remains (Lawrence and Davies 2011:328). Consequently, the assemblages of artefacts archaeologically recovered are rare and most of these are not available for physical re-examination because they were reburied after initial examination. For this reason, published and unpublished archaeological reports with their accompanying photographs have been used as substitutes for the actual artefacts. Occasionally, unused coffin furniture is offered for sale

on online auction sites such as Ebay, but it is generally unprovenanced and the descriptions by the seller found to be inaccurate, especially in regard to age, when examples can be matched to registered designs.

Archaeological collections

Of the archaeological data sets examined for this thesis, two were general burial grounds which accommodated all classes of burials (i.e. NBBG 1842-1875 and Cadia Cemetery in New South Wales 1864-1927). The NBBG excavation yielded the physical examples on which this investigation of the consumption of funerary goods is based. Besides the artefacts, the NBBG collection consists of excavation and artefact photographs, field specimen catalogues and unpublished expert reports. The Randwick Destitute Children's Asylum Cemetery (1863-1891) is an example of a burial ground used exclusively by an institution and provides a point of comparison to the burial practices of a general population. St Mary's Anglican Church in Adelaide was partially excavated, with graves cleared from its 'pauper ground' which operated from 1847 to circa 1910.

As Birmingham was the centre of coffin furniture manufacturing for the British Commonwealth, it is relevant to examine the data contained in archaeological reports from excavations conducted in the United Kingdom. For the most part, these are for burial grounds which operated prior to 1855, and therefore overlap with the first decade of the operation of the NBBG. Excavations of burial grounds which operated in the United Kingdom between 1859 and 1901 are comparatively few in number and are often in the form of 'clearances' by contract undertakers for the purpose of rapid reburial rather than by archaeologists for academic study (Cherryson *et al.* 2012:216-27). Material excavated in London which has been preserved for further study is located at the Museum of London Archaeology division which has also published detailed, illustrated excavation reports such as the excavation between 2004 and 2010 of three Victorian era denominational burial grounds in Tower Hamlets (Henderson *et al.* 2013).

Museum collections

The largest Australian museum collection of funerary goods is located at Sydney's Powerhouse Museum. Comprising unsold coffin furniture from the Wong General Store, in Fullerton, New South Wales this collection lay undisturbed *in situ* from when the store closed in 1916 until the 1970s. It was then purchased from a Wong family descendant by a private collector who subsequently donated the collection to the Powerhouse Museum. All

items of coffin furniture and their packaging were examined at the museum along with account books from the store.

Many British museums have displays and collections of funerary paraphernalia as part of their social-history collections. The most notable of these are located at the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, York Castle Museum and the Stoke-on-Trent Museum. The Newman Brothers Coffin Furniture Factory in Birmingham (1894 – 1995) reopened in 2014 as a heritage centre incorporating a display about the coffin furniture manufacturing industry in Birmingham utilising undistributed stock discovered during the renovation of the building. The Newman Brothers collection encapsulates the distinct change of style at the end of the Victorian era and the subsequent simplification of designs.

Methods

While it is relatively straightforward to discover the cost of a funeral for a private individual, the calculation of the cost of an institutional funeral is more difficult. The Brisbane Hospital minutes usually only named the successful tenderer, rarely with the amount tendered per funeral. The names of competing tenderers and the amount tendered were not recorded. While the total annual expenditure of burials paid for by the hospital is known, the calculations are complicated by the lack of corresponding undertakers' records and even a lack of death registrations. Death certificates were not always issued for patients who died in the Brisbane Hospital. For example, of the 40 deaths listed as 'Aboriginal' in the period 1859–1901, a death certificate was issued for only one. Stillborn babies were not registered as a birth or a death certificate was not required under the *Registration Act* (1855). From the minutes of Brisbane Hospital committee meetings, it is possible to observe, on occasions, months where a single funeral was paid for and use this figure as the basis for calculations as the tender price was fixed for the calendar year.

As many sources surrounding a particular event as possible were consulted because they each contribute data towards the whole and supply corroborating evidence. For example, undertaker John Smith notes in his diary for the 17th September 1885 "Nothing doing for the past two months except for trifles" (J. Smith 1885:12). In addition to counting the number of funerals in the business' order book, the burial register of the Brisbane General Cemetery where the bulk of the firm's burials were conducted was also examined (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1884-1893). A commensurate decline in the number of burials for which John Smith is named as undertaker was observed and the appearance of a new competitor, William Henry Hancock, for whom business records do not survive, was

noted. In addition, the funeral notices in the *Brisbane Courier* for July to September 1885, confirms the decline in number of funerals conducted by Smith as well as the impact of Hancock's business.

Data was collected and recorded in a series of spreadsheets so that trends could be identified. For example, data for funerals conducted in 1900 ($n=792$) by three undertakers (K.M. Smith, Cannon & Cripps, and S. Miller) was collated into a single spreadsheet under standardised headings. As a result it became possible to observe which firm was most successful in selling optional extras such as shrouds and plumes and which firm charged the least for a high-frequency service such as the burial of an infant. Intra- and inter-firm average costs could also be calculated using this spreadsheet. When this data was combined with the corresponding burial entry in the Brisbane General Cemetery Register, it showed some surprising incidences such as a family choosing to pay for an expensive funeral with multiple 'extras' cumulating with burial in an unmarked Class Three grave. Any newspaper descriptions of funerals for 1900 were also examined to obtain an indication of the impression that the funeral left on the observers.

The records which have survived are neither descriptive nor detailed which makes the compilation of meaningful and comparable data more difficult. For example, none of Brisbane's municipal cemeteries systematically recorded the age of death of children under the age of eight, except for stillborn babies as the burial of these were charged at a lower rate. In 1877, undertaker William Walsh did not record ages for 24 of 177 funerals (13%) and in a further ten instances (5%) the age is given as 'inf' [infant]. Without supporting cemetery data, the researcher is required to guess at the age of the deceased based on both the dimensions of the coffin and whether or not a hearse was ordered.

Conclusion

Considering that death is a universal experience, there is remarkably little relevant documentary evidence preserved in Brisbane. However, Brisbane is not unique in this regard. A search for relevant documentary and photographic evidence in the public domain from the other Australian colonies, New Zealand and the United Kingdom between 1859 and 1901 has been equally fruitless. Photographic evidence is more widely available from the United States but due to the divergence of coffin shape and coffin furniture design from that of the British Colonies, it is of limited applicability.

The fact that documents were generated by death and burial in Brisbane is not disputed, but they were clearly not valued for their potential historic value and discarded once the

immediate need for them had passed. Therefore, it is not possible to match a photograph of a colonial era Brisbane funeral with either an undertaker's funeral order or invoice. There are isolated instances where a detailed newspaper description can be matched to an undertaker's funeral order to discover how much a 'Handsome Cedar coffin with silver mountings' (*Brisbane Courier* 31 January 1900:4) cost the relatives of the deceased. This investigation addresses the gaps in the direct knowledge of the consumption of funerary goods and services by the population of colonial Brisbane by collating as many strands of evidence together as possible for the first time.





Chapter Four – Brisbane death and burial

In this chapter the incidence of death in Brisbane and the treatment and disposal of the corpse are examined. The corpse is followed from the deathbed to the graves. Elements of the stereotypical Victorian era funeral were imported from the United Kingdom and this transmission is also discussed. However, not every imported funerary innovation was adopted.

Legislation

Brisbane, in the Moreton Bay District, was first settled as an outpost for recalcitrant convicts in 1824 (Evans 2007:28). The penal settlement was officially closed in 1839 and the land was opened up for free settlement. Part of the British-administered colony of New South Wales, Brisbane and its environs were subject to the laws appropriated from the United Kingdom, and those Acts passed in the New South Wales parliament. The first Act relevant to burial in Brisbane was the *Parish Registers Act 1825 No. 20a* which was passed to regulate and preserve the registration of births, deaths and marriages. Among its twelve provisions was one banning intramural burials and prescribing the placement of burial grounds:

And be it further enacted That from and after the first of January one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six no Burial shall take place within the walls of any Church or Chapel of any denomination whatsoever nor within the limits of any town otherwise than in any Burial Ground which may be set apart for such purposes and which Burial Ground must be distant one mile at the least from any town or township (*Parish Registers Act 1825:10*).

This legislation was far-sighted and predated the English equivalent *Burial Act (1855)* by 30 years. Perhaps the New South Wales legislators were attempting to avoid the burial crises that had developed in England's major cities with overcrowded churchyards and putrid crypts endangering the health of urban dwellers (Wiggins 1991).

An Act adopted in New South Wales as part of the *Imperial Acts Adoption Act 1833 No. 5a* made it an offence to alter, insert or delete any entry in a parish or other register or to knowingly supply false information to be entered into same (*Imperial Acts Adoption Act 1833:2*) with one of the aims of making concealment of illegitimate births and neo-natal murder. Civil registration commenced in England in 1837 supplementing but not replacing the parish registration system. New South Wales followed in 1855 with the *Registration Act*

1855 No. 34a. This Act controlled the management of death and burial in Brisbane. This Act provided for the creation of registration districts under the control of a district registrar assisted by any number of assistant registrars located in smaller population centres and at Brisbane's major cemeteries from the mid-1880s (*Queenslander* 26 April 1884:668). Its major provision made it illegal to bury a person whose death had not been registered by the Registrar and the requirement that a Registrar's certificate be presented by the undertaker (or someone else responsible for the burial) to the cemetery sexton before the corpse could be buried.

The colony of Queensland separated from New South Wales on the 10th December 1859. The majority of legislation current at the time of separation remained in force until it was eventually repealed or replaced by Queensland legislation. The *Cemetery Act* (1865) was the first legislation since the *Parish Registers Act* (1825) to regulate the operation of cemeteries in the colony. As the population rapidly increased, burials were being performed under haphazard conditions in hastily established cemeteries. The *Cemetery Act* (1865) provided for the formal gazettal of land, appointment of trustees, publication of a schedule of rules and fees and standardised burial register keeping.

Unlike the southern colonies, Queensland did not have the need for an anatomy act as there was little demand for cadavers for medical training purposes as The University of Queensland was not established until 1909 and The University of Queensland Body Donor Program was not established until 1927 (MacDonald 2010).

The conduct of the funeral itself was guided by convention as there was no legislation covering the behaviour of undertakers and no requirement for them to be registered or demonstrate any degree of competency. The undertaking industry remained unregulated until a degree of self-regulation emerged with the formation of the Brisbane Master Undertakers Association in 1902 (*Brisbane Courier* 1 January 1903:5).

As in the United Kingdom, population censuses were conducted every ten years from 1861. The census mapped the rapid overall growth of the colony's population and the shifts in the population's gender and age demographics.

Death in Brisbane 1859 - 1901

Between 1859 and 1901 mostly the very young and males died, mirroring the colony's population demographics as a whole. The 1861 Census for Queensland showed that there were 65.88 females to each 100 males across the entire colony. The urban population was more evenly divided with the rate of 85 females to 100 males compared to the rural ratio of two males for every female (Registrar General of Queensland 1861:viii). Females concentrated in urban centres where there were more employment opportunities in the domestic sphere, absent from the colonial frontier (Lawson 1973:135-6).

Children

In Brisbane in 1861 there were a total of 144 deaths; 99 male and 45 female with 29% under the age of two (Registrar General of Queensland 1862:6). On the subject of the colony's infant mortality rate, Registrar General Darvill expounded:

there is no doubt that the death of children all throughout the colony is larger than it ought to be. May not this also be attributed to the intemperate habits, not of the children who suffer, but of their parents? (Registrar General of Queensland 1862:6).

At the end of the colonial era, infants (under two years) were still dying in great numbers in Brisbane. Illegitimacy was identified as a risk factor as the illegitimate birth rate was 13 per 100 but the death rate of illegitimate infants to the total infant death rate was 24 per 100 indicating that an illegitimate baby was almost twice as likely to die (*Brisbane Courier* 29 July 1902:6). Weaning was another risk factor. Dr Halford, the Government Medical Officer, concluded that the infant mortality rate would remain high while infant food was improperly prepared in non-sterile conditions, watered down for greater economy or used in variable quantities (*Brisbane Courier* 29 July 1902:6). Bottle-fed babies had a much higher mortality rate than unweaned babies; gastroenteritis from the water supply being the major cause (Patrick 1988:134). The *Health Act Amendment Act* (1886) tightened control over hygiene standards in dairies and milk sales in Brisbane after infant deaths were ascribed to an adulterated milk supply (*Brisbane Courier* 23 February 1884:5).

The Brisbane Hospital's admissions do not reflect the high infant mortality rate as children under the age of five were not admitted except in the case of accident or for surgery (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1883:4). Children contracting childhood diseases such as chicken pox, measles, mumps and scarlet fever as well as diphtheria, dysentery and typhoid, which periodically swept through the colony, were nursed at home. Children had been excluded from the hospital since the early 1860s. Powell (1967:693) examined the

Brisbane Hospital admissions from 1858 to 1862 and found that of the 643 admissions, only 16 (2.5%) were in the 0 to 9 age group. He concluded “clearly children were allowed to be ill and die at home. Over this period the death rate in the group aged under two years varied from 33% to 43% of all deaths” (Powell 1967:693).

It was not until March 1878 that a temporary Hospital for Sick Children commenced operations in rented premises and a permanent structure opened in 1883 (McConnel 1897:8-18). By 1890, the new building’s design flaws were evident and these were pointed out by the newly arrived Dr A. Jefferis Turner:

Most of the wards are very draughty, and during the rainy weather much water gets into the wards ... During the winter months cases of bronchitis contracted by children inside the Hospital are not uncommon ... There is no drainage system in the present building, but sewage is simply discharged down the hillside (Patrick 1988:125).

Admission to the hospital in its early days was clearly endangering lives, not saving them. The Hospital for Sick Children initially treated the children of the poor as in-patients or out-patients for no fee but towards the end of the 1890s those with the means to pay were also admitting their children to take advantage of medical advances (e.g. x-rays) for diagnosing broken bones and intubation for advanced cases of diphtheria which were not available to those nursed at home. However, Turner was most concerned by the 42% mortality rate in diphtheria cases. In 1895 he travelled to Germany and brought back the diphtheria antitoxin and succeeded in reducing the mortality rate to less than ten percent within two years (*Brisbane Courier* 31 July 1897:4).

Drowning was another significant cause of childhood death in an era when children were not routinely taught to swim, despite the city’s riverine location. In 1861, ten children under the age of 15 drowned accounting for 8% of all deaths in that age group (Registrar General of Queensland 1862:14). There were 35 known casualties, mostly children, from the 1893 floods (*Brisbane Courier* 8 February 1893:2).

In 1900, only 34 of 808 burials at Brisbane General Cemetery were conducted by a parent of a deceased child. At less than half of one per cent, it shows that by 1900, the services of the undertaker were considered to be obligatory, regardless of a family’s capacity to pay. In 1882, the Trustees of the Brisbane General Cemetery amended the table of charges reducing the fee for the burial of stillborn babies of Class One and Two grave owners from 10/- to 7/6 bringing it into line with the fee charge to Class Three stillborn burials (QGG 1882 XXXI (37):677).

Women

Jalland (2002:6) highlights that while men were most likely to succumb to violence and accidents, women of child-bearing age were at particular risk from the complications of pregnancy. Childbirth and puerperal fever were an important cause of death for females in the 15 to 45 age group. Older mothers who had already had multiple pregnancies died from a combination of overwork and under-nutrition (Russell 2014:292).

The Brisbane Hospital did not admit women from 1850 onwards for the purpose of childbirth primarily for the mothers' protection. Death from puerperal fever contracted in the pre-antisepsis era when medical staff did not practice strict hygiene was common (Patrick 1988:3). In the early 1860s the Brisbane Hospital Committee frequently had to inform homeless women seeking hospital accommodation for childbirth that they could not be admitted. It was not until late 1864 that the situation was relieved when a 'Lying-in Hospital' was established in a rented house in Spring Hill. Newly arrived women still had the difficulty of finding a subscriber who would guarantee the sum of £3 unless they were deemed to be destitute. By 1867, funds had been raised to construct a purpose built maternity hospital in Ann Street which became the Lady Bowen Hospital (Tyrer 1993:87).

The Lady Bowen Hospital contributed to the reduction of the maternal mortality rate amongst poor women through improved nutrition and providing a place to give birth:

Fifty-five poor women - 42 married and 13 single - received shelter, sustenance, medical attendance, during the year – some of the cases must have proved fatal under less favourable circumstances ... One case proved fatal to the mother, who was so exhausted by previous suffering, before she entered the hospital, that there could be no reasonable hope of her recovery (*Brisbane Courier* 6 January 1869:3).

However, the success achieved by the Lady Bowen Hospital was negated by maternal deaths from puerperal fever that substantially increased with the transfer of birth from home to hospital (Saunders and Spearritt 2006:2).

Men

In 1862, the Registrar General Darvill, noted the proportion of non-natural modes of death attributed to the gender imbalance of the colony's population:

It is impossible to avoid being struck with the large proportion of Deaths, 119, arising from external causes, such as accidents, suicides, murders, &c. &c. they actually form 23.85 per cent, of the total. By far the greater number of deaths from all causes arising from any one case is from drowning, namely 42; is not intoxication the principal cause of most of these deaths? (Registrar General of Queensland 1862:6).

Powell's (1967) examination of the Brisbane Hospital admissions from 1858 – 1862 found a gender imbalance of five males for every female admitted. Ten percent of admissions were for trauma and 8.35 were for syphilis. The average life expectancy for a male born in Queensland between 1881 and 1890 was 41.3 years compared to 49.8 for women (Office of Economic and Statistical Research 2009:3). This was the first decade for which this statistic was compiled. The following decade the gender difference in life expectancy reduced significantly. It became 49.5 years for men compared to 55.8 for women as the gender ratio evened out and sanitation began to improve in and around Brisbane women (Office of Economic and Statistical Research 2009:3).

Work accidents were numerous in a time before any effective workplace health and safety measures were enacted. For example, grave digger Henry Hatchman died in July 1885 after an un-shored up embankment he was excavating collapsed onto him at the South Brisbane Cemetery (*Telegraph* 24 July 1885:4).

Tuberculosis, colloquially called consumption, particularly affected young adults in the 16 to 25 year age range. In 1861, about one in ten of all deaths could be ascribed to tuberculosis (Registrar General of Queensland 1862:14). The death rate from tuberculosis remained constant until the wide-spread introduction of streptomycin after World War Two (Jalland 2002:40). Many young adults travelled to the colonies directly from the United Kingdom in the hope that a change of climate would have relieved their symptoms, but only succeeded in infecting their shipmates. The tubercular death rate continued to rise in the Australian colonies after it had plateaued in the United Kingdom (Haines 2003:281).

Location of death

The majority of deaths in the early colonial period occurred at home rather than in an institutional setting. In 1861 only 19 (17 males, 2 females) of the 144 deaths (i.e. 13%) recorded in Brisbane occurred in the Brisbane Hospital (*Courier* 25 January 1862:3). This percentage climbed with the opening of more hospitals and asylums. In 1901, 1027 people died from all causes (Registrar General of Queensland 1902:14). Of these, 227 or 22% died in the Brisbane Hospital (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1902:5).

However, an accurate figure of how many died in a hospital setting is impossible to calculate due to the non-survival of records of the many small private hospitals which operated, at times briefly, during the period. One of these was Alice Cottage, a four roomed cottage facing the Botanical Gardens in Alice Street, Brisbane (*Brisbane Courier* 6 January 1866:1). It operated as a cottage hospital between at least 1868 and 1871 with

two known deaths occurring there. The first was that of 20-year-old James Swan from the Government Printing Office whose military funeral departed from Alice Cottage on 26th March 1868 (*Brisbane Courier* 26 March 1868:1). The other was 75-year-old Eliza Pym, the wife of retired Royal Navy Captain Richard Pym (*Brisbane Courier* 19 August 1871:1).

Interval between death and burial

The first twelve-month period in which the interval between death and burial can be calculated is between August 1875 and July 1876 from the Brisbane General Cemetery Burial Register. In its first full year of operations 882 people were buried in the Brisbane General Cemetery or 87% of the deaths registered in Brisbane plus 26 still-births and 32 unregistered deaths. The cemetery's registers includes the time of burial. Unfortunately, unlike other jurisdictions, Queensland death certificates rarely include the actual time of death, so it is only possible to calculate the number of people buried on the same day of death, on the following day or on the subsequent day. From this sample, 40% of individuals buried in Class Three graves were buried on the day they died with this figure decreases as the grave class rises; i.e. 22% in Class Two and 5% in Class One indicating that more time was required to make arrangements for higher class burials (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1871-1884:15-897). In the case of Class One graves, a family member or representative was required to come to the cemetery to personally select a site and pay the deposit.

Preparing the corpse

In the Victorian era with the preoccupation with a 'Good Christian Death' (Jalland 2002:51-68) an aesthetically pleasing corpse was of primary concern to the family and friends of the deceased. From the second half of the 17th century, burial practices changed from winding the corpse in sheets that completely enclosed the body and placing the corpse directly into the earth, to burial in coffins where the body could be viewed with the face exposed. "The body in the coffin was made attractive through attention its hair, teeth and clothing as well as decorative embellishments involved in laying it out" (Tarlow 2002:87).

After a death in a family, the most pressing task was the laying out of the body into a pleasing form before the onset of rigor mortis. This knowledge was transmitted through observation, household guides or home nursing manuals. In Brisbane, especially during the hotter months, the urgency was heightened by the heat which promoted rapid putrefaction (Mims 1999:119-21). There was very little chance of being buried alive in Brisbane; a few hours watching at the most would be necessary to observe the onset of

putrefaction and therefore elaborate mortuary waiting houses in cold-climate countries such as Germany were unnecessary (Bondeson 2002:88-117).

The placement of coins on the eyes of the deceased was often a two-fold ritual imported to Brisbane from the United Kingdom and continental Europe. The natural resting position of the eyelids is open, so swift action is necessary to set them before the onset of rigor mortis (Weeks-Shaw 1898:349). However, it did not necessarily follow that the coins were replaced on the eyes after the corpse was coffined. Coins, usually pennies, placed under the tongue or on the eyes of the deceased, were for paying Charon, who in Greek mythology, ferried the souls of the dead across the river Styx (Kastenbaum and Kastenbaum 1993:45). When the NBBG were partially exhumed in 1913-14, two pence were found in the waistcoat pocket of a man who had been buried around 1855 (*QPP* 1914:96). By the 1890s, however, the use of coins was considered a superstitious relic (Weeks-Shaw 1898:349). If there was difficulty in closing the eyes, by the 1890s, it was recommended that the best approach was to put a tiny piece of cotton directly on the eyeball under the lid to prevent it slipping (Weeks-Shaw 1898:349).

The jaw was set in place with a wide band passing under it and tied at the top of the head. When complete rigor mortis had set in about ten hours later, this bandage was removed. If the family could afford to do so, false teeth and dental appliances were kept in place to maintain a more life-like appearance to the face (Weeks-Shaw 1898:180). Two dental plates and one set of dentures were recovered from adult burials in the NBBG; two Anglican and one Presbyterian. The dental plate in a Presbyterian burial (F150) used gold in its construction and it is unlikely that this would have been a lower class burial as that quantity of gold had monetary value.

The corpse was completely washed. If the death was attributed to an infectious disease, contemporary home nursing manuals recommended the additional use of Labarraque's solution (sodium hypochlorite or bleach) in the washing process (Weeks-Shaw 1898:181). Not only did water remove any fluids associated with the body (sweat, blood, vomitus) it contained a ritual element and was carried out as reverently as possible. Richardson (2001:19) concludes that "the ritual ablution of the corpse might also have been held to attain spiritual value – providing either purification for immediate entry to heaven, or serving as a figurative insurance that the corpse would rise up clean and fresh at the next trump".

When well-known stock and station agent George Blaxland Molle was killed on the 11th October 1879 in a shooting accident, undertaker William Walsh received £2/15/- for conveying the body from Carina, the scene of the accident, to Molle's residence on Wickham Terrace in Brisbane City. Included in the fee received was "washing & laying out same with shroud & sheet" (Walsh 1879:72). Unfortunately for Walsh, Molle was buried by J.&J. Hislop on the 14th October 1879 in a well-attended funeral at Brisbane General Cemetery (*Brisbane Courier* 15 October 1879:5). The washing of the corpse does not appear to have been part of the undertakers' regular tasks even by the mid-1880s. When bachelor William Hunter Esq. J.P., died suddenly at his Brisbane residence on the 7th July 1884, undertaker John Smith charged the estate ten shillings for a shroud and eight shillings to wash the body (Smith 1884:135) despite the presence of Hunter's housekeeper (*Brisbane Courier* 8 July 1884:4).

To absorb unpleasant discharges, the body cavities were plugged with cotton wool or coarse salt and occasionally sweet or strong smelling herbs such as rosemary were included. The ankles were tied together and the arms arranged either by the sides or crossed over the breast (Weeks-Shaw 1898:181).

Males were usually shaved or had their beards trimmed and the hair combed and ladies had their hair arranged as in life (Weeks-Shaw 1898:181). Locks of hair may have been cut off at this stage to be kept as a memento, usually incorporated into some form of mourning jewellery or fashioned into a pictorial keepsake (Pointon 1999:42). These duties were eventually taken over by the undertaker, who usually did it themselves or on occasions resorted to professional assistance. K.M. Smith did not have to go far to engage hairdresser David Closs for 10/- for the funeral of priest John Cummins (Smith 1887:91) as his premises were next door to K.M. Smith's George Street branch (Queensland Post Office Directory Company 1887:56). This is the only incidence in K.M. Smith's order book for 1887 where a professional hairdresser was employed.

In the 1860s, Brisbane's 150-strong Jewish community followed their own rituals as prescribed by the *Chevra Kadisha* (Jewish Burial Society) for the preparation of the corpse. With a tradition of rapid burial, preferably before sunset on the day of death, the corpse was prepared in the same centuries-old, highly ritualised method, regardless of social class. No hair was collected from the body, and any cloth which had blood on it was interred with the corpse. Relatives were not permitted to perform these sacred duties; members of the congregation would perform the rites for each other (Elzas 1915:9-16).

The body was usually prepared in the deceased's home where the coffin was delivered by the undertaker (e.g. K.M. Smith 1886:276). The undertaker, on this occasion, did not place the corpse in the coffin, as prescribed ritualised occurred with the tying of the hands and the arrangement of the burial garments (Elzas 1915:15). The coffin was then conveyed directly to the cemetery for burial.

Embalming

Training in the art of embalming was Australia-wide in the late 1890s, yet the process seems to have had very little impact on Brisbane burial practices. An examination of 792 funeral orders from 1900 reveal that not one corpse was embalmed despite that two of the undertakers (S. Miller and K.M. Smith) advertised providing the service (*Brisbane Courier* 8 January 1900:1).

One case of embalming is that of the well-known Melbourne evangelist, the Reverend John MacNeil who died of a cerebral aneurism while standing in a Queen Street shop on 27 August 1896. His body was embalmed by prominent undertaker John Hislop before being despatched to Melbourne aboard the steamer *Arawatta* two days later (*Warwick Argus* 1 September 1896:3). On the evening before the steamer's departure a memorial service was held for Reverend MacNeil at the City Baptist Tabernacle at which £30 was collected to defray the cost of transportation of the corpse. "After the benediction had been pronounced, the lid of the coffin was removed, and opportunity was given for a last look at the face of the deceased" (*Brisbane Courier* 29 August 1896:6). This is one of the very few instances recorded of a coffin being open at a Brisbane funeral, perhaps out of curiosity in seeing how well the undertaker had performed his work rather than the desire for one last 'memory picture'. Brisbane funerals were closed coffin affairs as the heat and unpopularity of artificial preservation would render any corpse unpleasant to gaze upon within 24 hours. The non-survival of John Hislop's records from this period deny the opportunity of discovering how much it cost to embalm the corpse and how such a procedure would have been noted in the undertakers' records. In 1899, a single surviving customer's invoice from Melbourne undertaker Herbert King itemised the embalming of 69 year-old William Elliot for £2 giving an indication of how much it may have cost to embalm MacNeil in Brisbane.

Dressing the corpse

The corpse would most likely to have been a shroud or the deceased's own clothes. Shrouds were long sleeved garments which resembled the night attire of the period but were opened at the back to make dressing the corpse easier. Ruffled at the neck and

gathered at the wrist, shrouds were characterised by their poor construction as they would not be subject to any wear and tear. The appearance of lace was fashioned by punching the material and seams were tacked together (Tarlow 2002:88). These garments were a disposal item, intended for display. Mass produced in the United Kingdom, notably Birmingham and Lancaster, it is likely that these specialised burial garments would have been imported along with the other funerary trappings. In May 1885, undertaker John Smith ordered £131 worth of coffin linings, material furnishings and other “stuff” (which may have included shrouds) directly from Birmingham manufacturer Oswald Caldicott & Co. (J. Smith 1885:6). No evidence of a local manufacturing industry has been found in Brisbane. However, small-scale domestic manufacture for consumption within the family and friendship group was possible.

Some organised women kept a shroud and white stockings or socks as part of their trousseau (Richardson 2001:21). Mrs Jane Graham who died aged 99 in June 1898, “had her shroud made some twenty-five years before her demise, and her close friends were repeatedly appraised of the fact and of the location of the garment” (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 21 June 1898:2). Graham’s obituary gives the impression that she had not made the shroud herself and had engaged a seamstress.

It is more likely that shrouds were obtained from the undertaker, as no advertisements for either making them or retailing them through a store have been found in the study location and period. However, an examination of 792 burials conducted in Brisbane in 1900 show that shrouds were purchased in only 38 cases (4%). Of these, 29 were purchased for males and only nine for women, indicating that women had a higher degree of preparedness for their deaths. Where itemised, these shrouds cost between 10 and 20 shillings for adults and 6 and 7/6 shillings for children. In one instance, a ‘lawn robe’ was supplied costing 7/6 for the burial of 24-year-old Alice Daniells (Cannon & Cripps 1900:38).

In the case of Catholic publican Martin Zerbe in July 1900, a pair of socks and gloves for the deceased (2/6) was added to the bill (Smith 1900:49). At the NBBG excavation, only five of the identified textiles were likely to have been fragments from the garments (street clothes or purposed burial clothing) worn by the deceased (Prangnell and McGowan 2013:487). Of these, two fragments were machine-knitted textiles located at the foot end of two adult Anglican burials, indicating that hosiery was incorporated in burials prior to 1875 (Prangnell and McGowan 2013:506). However, these may have been worn in conjunction with street clothing or shrouds.

By the 1880s, the use of a shroud was considered a universal requisite of an English burial by those who could afford to purchase them (Litten 1998:80-3). That so few were purchased for use in Brisbane may indicate a lag in the transmission of the practice or that Brisbane undertakers were not as successful at selling an otherwise purposeless garment as their English counterparts or that the Brisbane funeral consumption was different to or diverging from that in England. It is unlikely that shrouds were an unitemised item in a package of funerary goods, as they appear in the earliest available undertakers' invoices (i.e. Walsh 1877:3) and are itemised (if not always costed) throughout the study period.

In 1900, in almost all cases where the body had been taken to the city morgue first, a shroud was supplied indicating that the deceased's own clothes may not have been available or suitable for burial purposes and so that the body was not released 'naked' when collected by the undertaker. The corpses of patients who died in the Brisbane Hospital were treated differently according to gender. Wardsmen were required to remove all corpses from the ward and wash and 'properly dress' all male corpses (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1883:15). Nurses were required to wash and shroud deceased females (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1883:16). This infers that men were redressed in their own clothes and women were shrouded possibly in a sheet as no identifiable expenditure item can be found for shrouds in the Brisbane Hospital's cash book for the following year (Brisbane Hospital 1884 – 1885).

As almost all Brisbane funerals left from the deceased's home, there would have been a ready supply of clothing which could have been used for the burial. If the household finances did not extend to the purchase of specially made funerary garments, the deceased's own clothing was used or second-hand clothing was procured. In 1914, during the exhumation of burials from the NBBG, a corpse which had been buried some 60 years earlier was discovered dressed in a brown riding suit including a waistcoat (*QPP* 1914:96). A belt buckle with a cricketer motif was recovered from Catholic burial [F232] excavated at the NBBG in 2002, indicating that the adult male had not been buried in a specially purchased shroud or robe but in his own clothes. The presence of buttons in a burial tends to indicate the use of street clothing although it is not unknown for shrouds to be finished with a row of buttons down the front (Prangnell and McGowan 2013:14).

Coffins

Coffined verses uncoffined burials

The coffin was the centre-piece of the Victorian Era funeral. It was an object of display, the intention being to display to the assembled mourners the financial means and social standing of the deceased or of the family and friends. "The quality of the wood, coffin furniture and workmanship played a decisive role in communicating the importance of both the deceased and those who survived them" (Brickley and Buteux 2006:223). By Queensland's Separation from New South Wales in 1859, there was the expectation that even the poorest deceased would be encased in some form of wooden coffin. Shroud burial in churchyards had been discontinued by the 18th century (Litten 2002:86) and the practice of coffin burial was imported to the colony of Queensland by the predominantly British migrant population

The cost of the coffin was rarely itemised in undertakers' funeral orders. William Walsh only once recorded the cost of a coffin between 1877 and 1883. This was for the funeral of Thomas Gray who was buried in a Class One Grave at the Brisbane General Cemetery on the 20th January 1877. Walsh charged £3/10 for a 'registered coffin' (Walsh 1877:3) meaning that the design of the coffin furniture used was registered under the *Ornamental Designs Act* (1842). In other funerals, coffins are indicated as 'registered' but no further costs are given. After Walsh sold the business to John Smith, 24 retail coffin sales were recorded between 1883 and 1887 making it possible to reconstruct the price range for a variety of coffin sizes (Table 12).

Table 12 Summary of Coffin Cash Sales made by John Smith 1883 – 1887 (K.M. Smith 1883-1887)

Cost	Number	Description	Deceased Age Range
£0/15	4	1' 9" plain; 2' plain	12 hours – 3 months
£0/17/6	1	2' mounted	5 days
£1	6	Child's	
£1/1	1	With name plate	3 weeks
£1/2/6	2	2' 6" full mounted	4 months
£1/5	6	2'; 2' 9", 3' 6"	
£1/7/6	1	Child's	
£3	1	6' mounted	32 years
£3/10	1	5' 2"	38 years
£3/17/6	1	6' registered mounted	54 years

Coffin Construction – wood

Elm (*Ulmus procera*) was the wood of choice for coffin-making in the United Kingdom due to the ease with which it could be worked, although oak (*Quercus robur*) was also used for expensive coffins (Sewell 1870:19). Neither elm nor oak were available to the early inhabitants of the Moreton Bay Settlement, instead, red cedar (*Toona australis*) was found to be suitable for coffin making. It was a significant and abundant timber in the earliest days of the settlement. Red cedar was favoured for joinery, cabinet and furniture making due to its resistance to termite attack (*Queenslander* 13 December 1879:756). Cabinet makers were known to be in operation in Brisbane by 1846 when the *Moreton Bay Courier* commenced publication. In January 1847, auctioneer Thomas Dowse advertised:

TO CEDAR DEALERS, CABINETMAKERS, AND OTHERS.
MR. T. DOWSE HAS received instructions to Sell by Public Auction, at the Government SAW-PITS. North Brisbane, 20,000 feet of prime CEDAR (*Moreton Bay Courier* 2 January 1847:1).

Other commercially useful timbers were named by Theophilus Pugh in the first edition of his Almanac published to coincide with the separation of Queensland from New South Wales:

The Red Cedar of our rivers is one of the best and most beautiful woods for manufacturing purposes in the colony, and in addition to this may be named the Iron Bark, Blue Gum, Box, Violet Wood, Silk Oak, Tulip Wood, and Forest Oak, all of which are plentiful, and the timber exceedingly useful. Independent of these there are a number of others, such as the cypress pine, the satin and yellow-wood trees, and a host of eucalypti (Pugh 1859:92).

Red Cedar was the predominant wood for coffin making. It was used for low-status and convict burials due to its abundance during the convict era prior to 1842. In Thomas Petrie's reminiscences it is stated that convict coffins were made from cedar. This fact is borne out when they were exhumed from the First Brisbane Burial Ground in Skew Street in the late 1800s. The planks were apparently so well persevered that an opportunistic workman took the best boards home in order to construct a lean-to (Petrie 1904:314). In 1849, the arrival of the Reverend John Dunmore Lang's migrant ships placed great stress on the resources of the Moreton Bay Settlement. Shortages of timber construction materials began to be felt in Brisbane as lumber, especially cedar, was increasingly exported in its raw state rather than processed locally. Brisbane saw millers, seeing a commercial opportunity, demanded high fees for dressing timber, so residents began importing worked timber such as shingles and staves from Sydney (Johnston 1988:132). By 1901, Queensland was importing pine and hardwood from New South Wales and kauri

from New Zealand while at the same time continuing to export large volumes of cedar lumber (Holzworth 1999:15).

Cedar was still abundant in the area south of Brisbane in 1866. The *Brisbane Courier* printed a report from a special correspondent who visited the Townsville Cotton Plantation on the Logan River and observed a burial:

The Islanders seem to have some fear of the dead, and they do not like to touch them, and put them into their coffins. The coffin was made by the carpenter from cedar, and was neatly shaped and jointed. The dead man was rolled up, with a clean white guernsey shirt on, in his blue blanket, and was thus placed in the coffin (*Brisbane Courier* 20 November 1866:3).

The shortage of cedar in areas closer to Brisbane is confirmed by the absence of cedar coffins in the description of funerals in the pages of the local newspapers between the burial of Reverend Gregor in 1848 and funeral reform sympathiser Justice Alfred Lutwyche in 1880 (*Brisbane Courier* 16 June 1880:3). After this time, a polished cedar coffin with silver mountings is the most common description found in a detailed examination of funeral descriptions in the *Moreton Bay Courier*, *Courier* and *Brisbane Courier* between 1859 and 1901. Although column inches were usually devoted to the funerals of the 'great and the good', burials with some degree of notoriety were also reported upon. The fine cedar coffin of young murder victim Alfred Hill was commented upon in January 1899 in marked contrast to the rough coffin used by the contract undertaker to remove the remains from the murder scene at Oxley to the morgue in Brisbane City (*Brisbane Courier* 9 January 1899:5).

This absence of cedar is supported by the 1881 records of undertaker William Walsh which shows the first mention of a cedar coffin being ordered since the start of available records in 1876. On the 6th April 1881, twenty-five year old Margaret Toppin was buried in the Catholic portion of the Brisbane General Cemetery in a full-mounted (i.e. affixed with decorative trimmings) cedar coffin (Walsh 1881:16). Imported English oak also started to make an appearance in high status burials in Brisbane. Justice George Harding (died 1895) was buried at Brisbane General Cemetery in a coffin of polished English oak mounted in silver and gold coffin furniture (*Brisbane Courier* 2 September 1895:5). Two years later Sir Charles Lilley was buried in the same manner (*Brisbane Courier* 23 August 1897:6). The use of oak remained rare and newsworthy to the end of the study period. In 1900, only three oak coffins were sold by two undertakers (Cannon & Cripps 1900:55 and K.M. Smith 1900:36, 39) It was the upper middle class and professional people who made

explicit instructions on the type of coffin in which they wished to be buried (Jalland 2002:114). Well-known Queensland colonial progenitor, the Reverend John Dunmore Lang, was buried in a plain cedar coffin according to his instructions (*Sydney Morning Herald* 12 Aug 1878:5).

At the other end of the social hierarchy, pauper funerals were also described by the various newspapers:

MRS. TAYLOR, a deserted wife, resident at Emerald, died at that town on 28th April, leaving utterly destitute a baby four days old, and a child one year and seven months old. Her husband had been away from her for nearly eight months, and she was in very necessitous circumstances. She was buried in a coffin provided by the Government, and neighbours subscribed enough to cover it with some suitable black material (*Queensland Figaro and Punch* 14 May 1887:6).

It is telling that the neighbours sought to create a degree of dignity for the deceased by ensuring that the coffin was more than the undressed boards of a Queensland Government specified pauper's coffin. The timbers used for the majority of coffins included a variety of native pine species which were easy to work. These included hoop pine (*Araucariaceae cunninghamii*), bunya pine (*Araucariaceae bidwillii*) or Queensland kauri (*Agathis robusta*). However, McGowan and Prangnell (2009) reported the discovery of a non-native pine species, Siberian stone pine (*Pinus sibirica*) used to construct part of coffin excavated at the NBBG. They concluded that the coffin was made partly from a recycled packing case used to import products into the colony.

'Flat pack' coffins were imported into the colony by storekeepers such as Cribb and Foote at Ipswich from 1876 (Jarrott 1998:36). One manufacturer which exported this product throughout the entire British Empire was Laverack and Goddard of Hull, England. Their coffin sides and lid were made of oak with the choice of an oak, deal (a cheap white softwood timber) or pitch pine bottom (Jones 1967:83).

Coffin shape

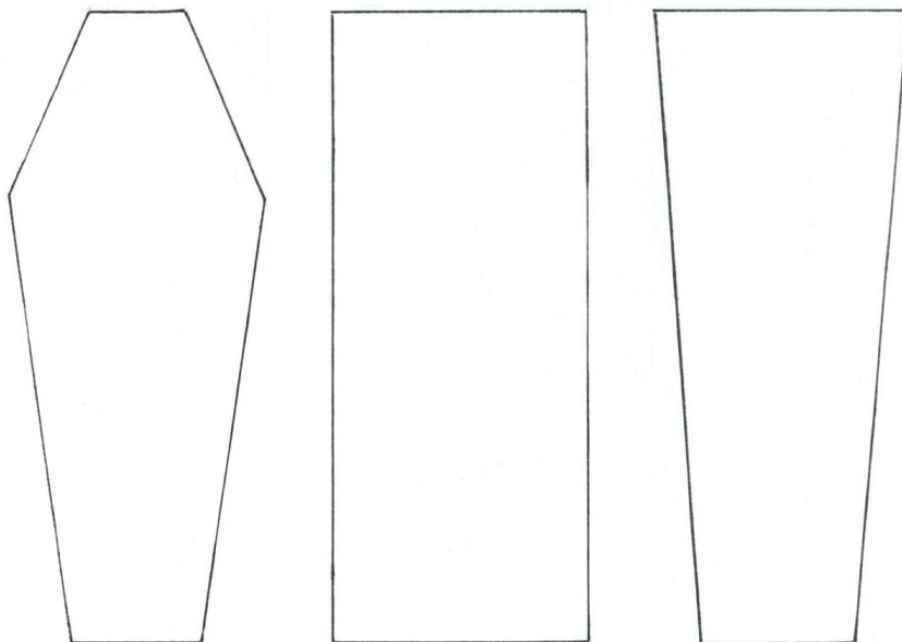


Figure 10 From left: Single break, rectangular, trapezoid coffins (Adapted from Cherryson *et al.* 2012:48 Figure 3.3. Redrawn by M. Vlahos)

By the mid-19th century the main coffin shape in use in Brisbane as in the United Kingdom was the single break hexagonal style (Figure 10). The term ‘single break’ derives from the requirement that the plank bend at the widest point; the carpenter making a series of deep cuts into the wood called kerfs (Hasluck 1913:25). There were usually five kerfs made in an adult coffin but any odd number above three could have been used. Only one coffin recovered from the NBBG was sufficiently preserved to show the distinctive kerfing of the single break style (Figure 11).

If the hexagonal shape was deviated from, it was unusual enough to warrant a mention in the Brisbane Courier. When Mrs Bridget Thynne, the mother of Andrew Thynne MLC, was buried in January 1895, her coffin was described as “octagonal cedar with ten panels, the side panels with silver handles, the others with silver doves” (Brisbane Courier 7 January 1895:4). Panel coffins were made by a variety of construction techniques, which were more labour intensive and therefore more expensive single break coffins. Hasluck noted “most of the better class of coffins are panelled” (Hasluck 1913:62).



Figure 11 Five sawn kerfs on the inner wooden shell of a lead-lined coffin burial F206 in the Roman Catholic cemetery at the NBBG (UQASU F206_C19-17)

The rectangular shaped coffin favoured by the North Americans from the late 1860s, does not appear to have been used in Brisbane to any great extent prior to 1875 (Table 13). This may be indicative of an easier to construct home-manufactured coffin. A rarer variation of the rectangle was the trapezoid form; widest at the head tapering to the feet (Figure 10). These coffins were customarily used for infants (Griffin and Tobin 1997:18). One of the trapezoid coffins excavated from the Anglican portion of the NBBG [F3] had a head board width of 26cm, foot board width of 13cm and overall length of 81cm.

Table 13 Shape of coffins excavated from the NBBG (extracted from McGowan 2007:272 and Prangnell and Rains 2002:50-64)

Burial Ground	6-sided Single break	4-sided Rectangular	4-sided Trapezoid	Indeterminate	Total burials excavated
Anglican (incorporating former Aboriginal portion)	176	5	2	16	199
Presbyterian	24	2	0	9	35
Roman Catholic	126	5	1	31	163
Total	326 (82%)	12 (3%)	3 (1%)	56 (14%)	397 (100%)

All of the above styles had flat lids. Gabled-lidded coffins had fallen out of use in the United Kingdom by the mid-18th century as they were difficult to stack in a common crypt (e.g. Brickley and Buteux 2006:34). However, gable-lidded coffins remained in use in Europe especially amongst German-speaking populations who traditionally had a preference for a rectangular-shaped coffin standing on four feet (Figure 12).

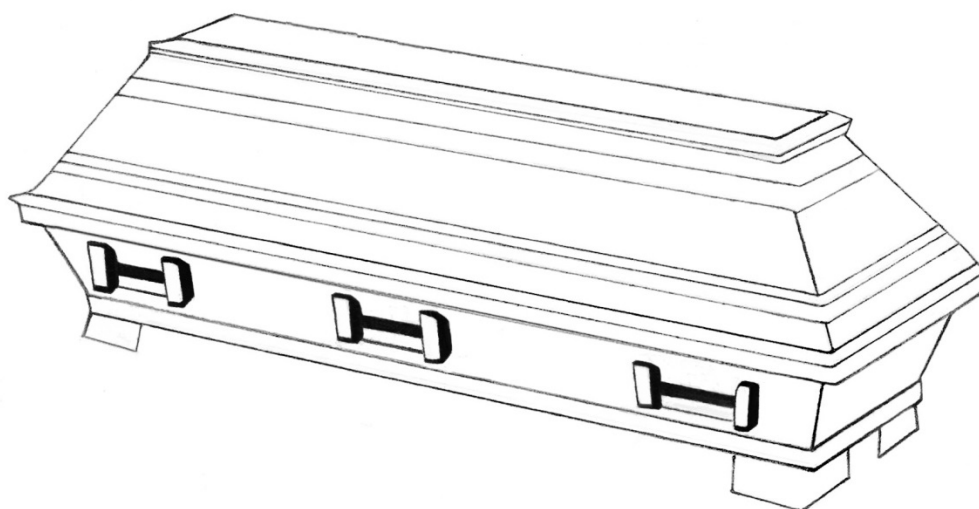


Figure 12 Gable-lid German style coffin (Drawn by M. Vlahos)

In 1868, German immigrants comprised a significant minority of Queensland's population, reaching 7.21% concentrated in the south east corner of the colony (Office of Economic and Statistical Research 2009:6). In July 1900, K.M. Smith supplied a "5' 9" Cedar plain German Style" coffin for the burial of 42 year old Lutheran Maria Walter at the Bulimba Cemetery (Smith 1900:47). It was the only one supplied by the firm that year and the

record does not specify whether the coffin was made by the firm's own staff or especially ordered in. Undertakers in districts which had a German population of over 50% such as Engelsburg (renamed Kalbar in World War One) 90 kilometres south-west of Brisbane supplied both "English and German Coffins" (Figure 13). German-born cabinet maker George Eder arrived in Engelsburg in 1889 when he opened a general store and operated his undertaking business from the rear of the establishment (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 3 September 1898:1).



Figure 13 Advertisement for undertaker George Eder (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 3 September 1898:1)

Surface treatment

Cloth-covered coffins were used throughout the study period. One advantage was that the coffin maker could construct the coffin out of narrow planks instead of full-width boards as the wood would be covered by the final product (Litten 2002:104).

In Brisbane as in the United Kingdom, black was the most common colour for coffins used for earth burials. In an undated reminiscence, Brisbane undertaker Bert Gow (1899 – 1993) recalled that the convention was to use black cloth covered coffins for adults, white for children and white or pale blue for infants (Gow 1993:150). An examination of the funeral descriptions in the Brisbane newspapers and the undertakers' order books has not revealed any additional colours. William Walsh supplied a 'blue cloth coffin' costing 13 shillings for the burial of seven-month old Elizabeth Annie Savage at the Brisbane General Cemetery on the 7th November 1881 (Walsh 1881:49). The same firm furnished a white cloth covered coffin for the burial of eleven year old Richard Boys in May 1882 (Walsh 1882:80).

Coffin cloth was imported into the colony but it is not clear whether it was imported directly into Brisbane from the United Kingdom or from another Australian colony. It is unlikely that coffin cloth was manufactured in Australia as it featured regularly in Sydney and Melbourne importer auctions. Brisbane auctioneer James Dickson sold 147 yards of black coffin cloth on behalf of an unnamed client's instruction in July 1883 (*Brisbane Courier* 3 July 1883:8). The purchaser has not been recorded.

The cloth coffin coverings recovered from the NBBG showed a great deal of uniformity and that "the great majority were of twill weave flannel made with a cotton warp and wool weft" (Prangnell and McGowan 2013:516). In England, silk velvet or wool baize were more common for high status burials (Cherryson *et al.* 2012:69).

Polished wood

With the introduction of French polishing to the United Kingdom in the 1850s, the preference switched from elm to oak for higher status coffins as its grain took a better polish (Litten 2002:90). However, for the undertakers, the profit which could be made from the retailing of an expensive timber was negated by the labour and time intensity of the polishing technique (Hasluck 1913:36).

The Reverend Sewell (1870:19) in his *Christian Care of the Dying and the Dead* stated that: "No sort of coffin should ever receive French polish; which is more in keeping with the drawing-room than with the grave". However, he also believed that "the coffin should on no account be covered with velvet or cloth fabrics which are only suited for dry places not for a damp tomb or grave. Black furniture should not be used if other can be procured" (Sewell 1870:22).

Transition from cloth-covered to polished wood

The Queensland colonial period (1859 - 1901) covers the transition from the outer coffin being covered by cloth to the polished timber coffins in use today. This change in fashion did not extend to Class Four pauper coffins, which were constructed of undressed boards for the entire period. Initially the trend for polished wood coffins made from exotic timbers started at the more expensive end of the market with Class One and Class Two burials (e.g. the polished English oak coffin for the burial of John Donaldson, MLA (*Brisbane Courier* 27 July 1896:6)). One of the earliest Brisbane newspaper reports of a polished timber coffin was the cedar coffin used for the funeral of William Isles, the son of Brisbane merchant James Isles of Finney Isles & Co. (*Queenslander* 1 August 1885:187).

Undertaker Bert Gow remembered:

As time went by we saw the change from covered coffins to the polished variety in all sorts of fancy timbers. Handles and ornaments also seemed to standardise with almost all silver plated (Gow 1993:150).

As Gow's involvement in the family's undertaking business commenced at the age of ten (in 1909), his recollection of coffins covered in black cloth implies that they were still in use in Brisbane after they ceased to be fashionable in the United Kingdom.

Coffin construction – lead shells

Known since antiquity, lead has been used for coffin making due to its pliability and ease of shaping, although soldering it was a skilled task requiring the services of a plumber (Hasluck 1913:79-80). Lead lined coffins (Figure 14) may have been believed to offer a level of protection to the corpse as they supposed to be airtight and therefore watertight preventing the escape of body fluids during decomposition. This however, was rarely the case. The three lead lined coffins excavated from the NBBG in 2002, while showing less vertical compression than the timber coffins, did not improve the preservation of the remains to the extent which may have been expected by the purchasers (McGowan 2007:330).

Lead lined coffins seemed not to have been as popular in Brisbane as in the United Kingdom. The interval between death and burial being just over a day may have precluded the obtaining of the lead and the services of a plumber. The lead lining was ordered as needed and could not be made by the plumber until the inner wooden shell had been completed. From the surviving undertakers' records, there are very few instances where lead was ordered for Class One and Class Two funerals, and the majority of these differed from the norm as these funerals involved transportation or delay. For example, from the funeral order books of K.M. Smith from 1883 to 1887, only one lead lined coffin was ordered for the transportation of a corpse from Brisbane to Stanthorpe (215 kilometres to the south-west). In June 1887, K.M. Smith paid the Watson Brothers £4 for the construction of a lead coffin to be placed inside a polished cedar coffin (Smith 1887:52). Even Colonel Samuel Blackall, the serving Governor of Queensland, was buried in a single shell coffin in January 1871, the procurement of a lead lining apparently unprocurable in the 26 hour interval between his death and funeral (*Brisbane Courier* 6 January 1871:2).

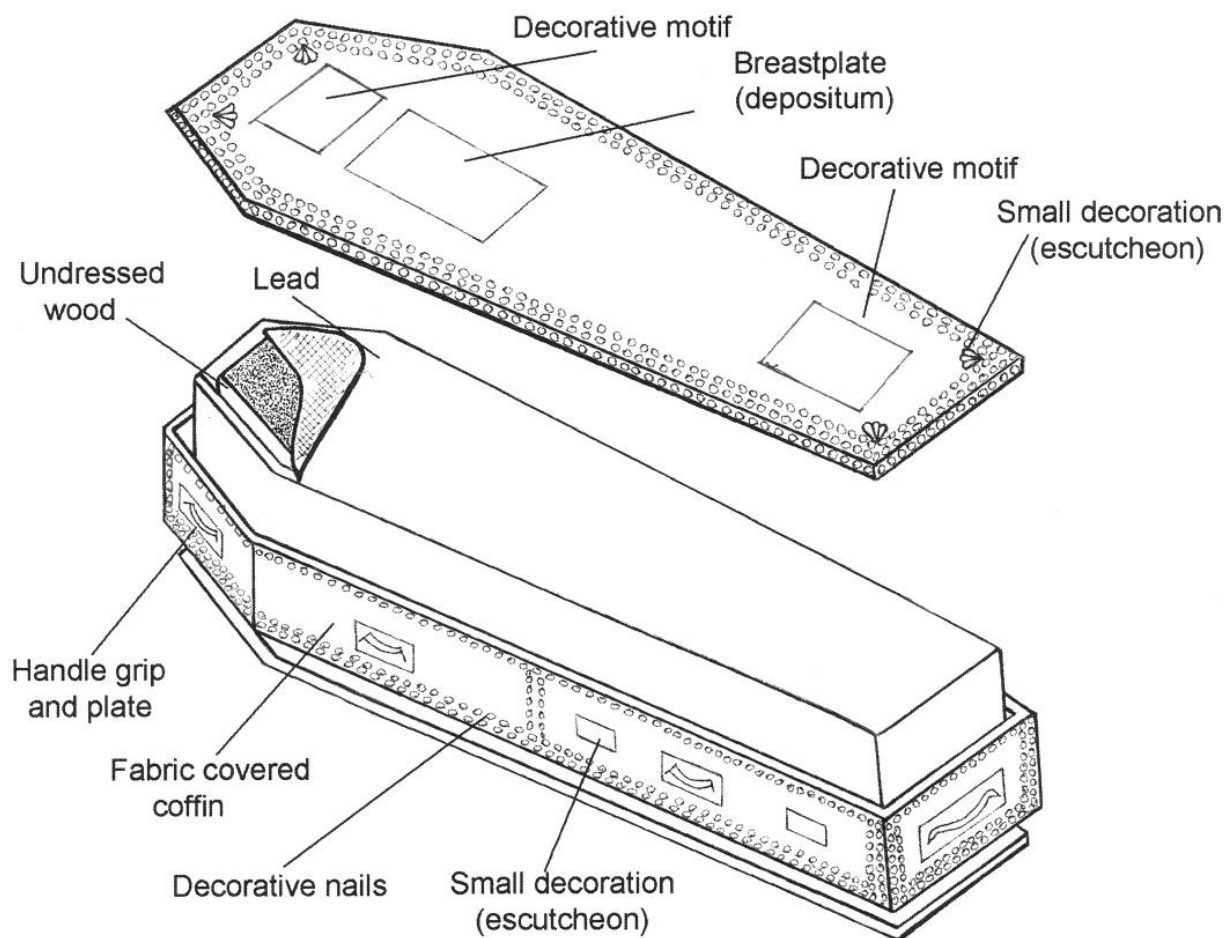


Figure 14 Exploded view of a triple shell coffin with a lead lining (after Cherryson *et al.* 2012:51. Drawn by M. Vlahos)

Lining materials

By the end of the colonial era, lead lined coffins appeared to be the preserve of the affluent members of the community. Politician James Tyson who died in 1898 (*Queenslander* 10 December 1898:1146) and pioneer electrical engineer, Henry Reason who died in 1900 (*Brisbane Courier* 4 July 1900:3) were both furnished with these coffins. An alternative to lead was the use of lighter zinc as a lining material especially if there had been a long interval between death and burial or the corpse had been immersed in water for some time. For example, when a prosperous Catholic butcher, James Buchanan accidentally drowned on the 19th October 1886, his body was not recovered until the 22nd October. His widow, ordering a grand public funeral, required undertaker K.M. Smith to engage the services of plumber Aaron Wakefield, of Elizabeth Street, to fit a zinc lining inside a 5' 10" coffin which was 2' 2" wide and 11" deep. These slightly wider and deeper dimensions

were necessary to accommodate the liner. Unfortunately this undertaker's record did not itemised the cost of either the coffin or its lining (Smith 1886:October 26).

Regardless of the shape or external appearance of the coffin, the joints had to be covered in pitch to prevent the escape of effluvia. Hasluck advised:

The next thing is to pitch the coffin and this should never on any account be omitted and be done thoroughly, taking care that every crevice and joint is covered, and also that the handle fastenings are well covered (Hasluck 1913:27).

As previously shown, in sub-tropical Brisbane over 85 percent of burials occurred within 36 hours of death. To combat unpleasant odour, a bed of charcoal lumps and sawdust, sprinkled with permanganate of potash, was sometimes placed in the base of the coffin, covered by a sheet (Griffin and Tobin 1997:24).

Any fabric from calico to satin could be used to line the coffin. In the United Kingdom, the most popular choice was swansdown, a heavy cotton flannel that has a thick nap on the face and is made with sateen weave (Hasluck 1913:52). For the adherents of the Ecclesiological Society, the advice was straight forward:

The coffin should be lined not with cheap glazed calico but with white jean in broad plaits three or four inches apart and the upper and inner edge should have white silk lace about an inch wide (Sewell 1870:22).

In Brisbane, satin lining does not appear to have been used frequently judging by how few times it was ordered. The only one for the year 1883 was for the burial of Vera, the five-month old daughter of Queensland Police Commissioner David Thompson Seymour. The 2' 9" coffin was satin lined and interred in a Class One grave (Smith 1883:112). The only specific mention of a coffin lining in Smith's order book for the following year was for the burial of the child's mother Caroline Seymour, whose 5' 9" coffin was recorded as "nicely lined inside" (Smith 1884:5).

Mattresses and pillows

As no itemised references to either mattresses or pillows were found in the order books between 1879 and 1901 evidence of their existence comes from other sources. Undertaker, upholsterer and cabinet maker Joshua Ebenston imported 60 bales of an unspecified fibre from Sydney in February 1866. As he operated both businesses from the same premises, it is unknown to what purpose this was put (*Brisbane Courier* 21 February 1866:2). Coca fibre, belonging to Ebenston and stored at the back of his premises, was set on fire the week before Christmas 1869 (*Brisbane Courier* 18 December 1869:2). Wool was also placed in the bottom of coffins. At the NBBG, loose wool packing, probably

shoddy, made from a variety of textile compositions, was recovered from 34 burials comprising 11 children and 23 adults. Ten burials were in the Anglican cemetery, 20 in the Catholic cemetery, and four were Presbyterian (Prangnell and McGowan 2013:508-9).

Funerals

Location

In the colonial era, very few funerals left from a church (Table 14). For the majority of the population, the first part of the burial service was read at the deceased's home or that of a relative or friend (Gow 1993:151). Alternatively, the minister read the first part of the burial service the cemetery gate before reading the committal service at the grave. If the deceased died in hospital, mourners were invited to gather there to follow the corpse to the grave. If the deceased did not live in a place suitable for a gathering of mourners, or if it was expected to be a large affair, funerals left from hotels. If the deceased was the publican, the funeral generally did not leave from their own hotel but from the premises of another hotelier, as the household was in mourning and the family would not be expected to cater for guests. For example, in October 1899, the funeral of James McGinn, proprietor of the Commercial Hotel left from around the corner at the Sovereign Hotel where his friend Patrick Roberts was the landlord (*Brisbane Courier* 2 October 1899:1). When the funeral of Helena Hahm departed from her residence at Sandy Creek, at 3pm, it was due to pass the Chardon Hotel, Annerley at 3.30pm where mourners could join the cortège *en route* to the South Brisbane cemetery (*Brisbane Courier* 26 December 1896:1).

Table 14 Location of funerals from funeral notices published in the *Moreton Bay Courier* and *Brisbane Courier* 1859 - 1863

Year	Number of Funeral Notices	Church	Own home	Other home	Hotel/ Public House	Other Place
1859	1	1				
1860	1		1			
1861	10		4	5	1 (not stated)	
1862	24	1	12	4	1 (the publican) 2 (residents)	1 (Union Bank) 1 (Peter's Wharf) 1 (ferry) 1 (not stated)
1863 (to May)	13		9		1 (publican's child) 2 (residents)	1 (ferry)

Funerals for members of holy orders appear to be the major exception to this convention with their funerals conducted in the church with which they were closely associated (e.g. the funeral of the Reverend Alexander Sutherland left from the Wharf Street

Congregational Church after a church service there (*Brisbane Courier* 20 June 1896:1)). From the mid-1890s, Catholic funerals conducted in the Cathedral for prominent laity started to become more frequent (e.g. Michael McClafferty, cab proprietor and member of the Hibernian Australian Catholic Benefit Society (*Brisbane Courier* 22 April 1895:2)), but even so these funerals were still not common, with K.M. Smith arranging only three of this type out of the total of 231 funerals conducted by the firm in 1895 (Smith 1895).

In 1861, the Church of England commissioned the construction of a stone mortuary chapel seating 60 people within their ground at the NBBG for the convenience of the mourners (*Courier* 19 August 1861:3). It was dedicated by Bishop Tuffnell in May 1862 (Pugh 1863:14) in conjunction with an extension to the Anglican ground. This was in keeping with the tendency in English municipal and private cemeteries to construct two mortuary chapels within their boundaries; Anglican and Non-Conformist (e.g. General Cemetery of All Souls, Kensal Green, London (Freeman 2001:158-71)). Similar denominational chapels were constructed at Rookwood Cemetery in Sydney (Weston 1989). The mortuary chapel also served as a parish church for the rapidly growing suburbs of Milton and Paddington until the closure of the NBBG in 1875 (Figure 15). It was subsequently demolished in January 1876 and the materials reused in the construction of Christ Church Anglican Church adjacent to the now-disused Anglican Cemetery (Filmer-Mason 1998:6).



Figure 15 Grave of Eliza Pym (died 1871) in front of the Anglican Mortuary Chapel (John Petrie's Album 1875, QFHS)

Unlike Sydney's Rookwood Cemetery, the Brisbane General Cemetery did not construct mortuary chapels, instead constructing a series of semi-open shelter sheds with a raised bier inside on which the coffin could be placed.

From the late 1890s another option became available. Entrepreneurial Sydney undertaker Arthur Wood established a funeral parlour which he described in an advertorial as "a room set aside for the use of friends from the country whose dear ones may have passed away in hospitals and elsewhere, by which the funeral may be of a semi-private character" (*Sunday Times* 20 December 1896:3). By October 1899, John Hislop was also conducting funerals from his funeral parlour located at his South Brisbane branch (*Brisbane Courier* 4 October 1899:1). In Melbourne, funeral parlours first appeared in 1905 when Sydney's Wood & Company expanded their operations there (*Punch* 11 May 1905:30) indicating that Brisbane's undertakers were not as conservative at adopting innovation as many of their southern counterparts.

Flowers

Through documentary evidence associated with the burial of infant Lucy Drew in 1866 (see Chapter Five), it is known that flowers were placed in her coffin prior to burial. However, it is impossible to extrapolate the extent that flowers were used in this manner based on only one case. In waterlogged burials in London e.g. St Pancras (Giorgi 2011:188) and Bethnal Green (Ives and Hogg 2012:35) sufficiently preserved flora was recovered from the coffin interior to permit identification; however, no flora was identified within the coffins excavated at NBBGs. A small number of plant remains, now thought to be the remnants of grass used in the coffin mattress or pillow, were identified in burials at St Martin's Birmingham where hypoxic conditions preserved the leaves (Ciaraldi 2006:185). Ciaraldi (2006:186) concluded that plants placed inside the coffin rather than on top of it had symbolic as well as practical functions.

The practice of sending flowers to funerals was virtually unknown in Brisbane prior to the late 1870s (Davey 1889:110). The lengthy description of the funeral and burial of Governor Blackall in 1871 makes no mention of them (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 4 January 1871:2). In the description of the State funeral of Sir Maurice O'Connell in 1879, wreaths are mentioned as being placed on the coffin but the names of their donors are not recorded (*Brisbane Courier* 26 March 1879:3). Within two years, funeral reportage started to include a list of wreath donors though initially only the socially elite were named (e.g. the funeral of George Henry Davenport, *Brisbane Courier* 5 January 1881:2). However, by the time of

Governor Sir Anthony Musgrave's burial on the 10th October 1888, the number of floral tributes sent to the funeral was numerous (Figure 16).

In the interval between breakfast and the funeral, magnificent wreaths composed of white flowers, and accompanied in many cases by a few words of condolence from the donors were constantly arriving at the house, and these subsequently more than covered the coffin as it reposed on the gun carriage which served as a "soldier's hearse" (*Queenslander* 13 October 1888:652).

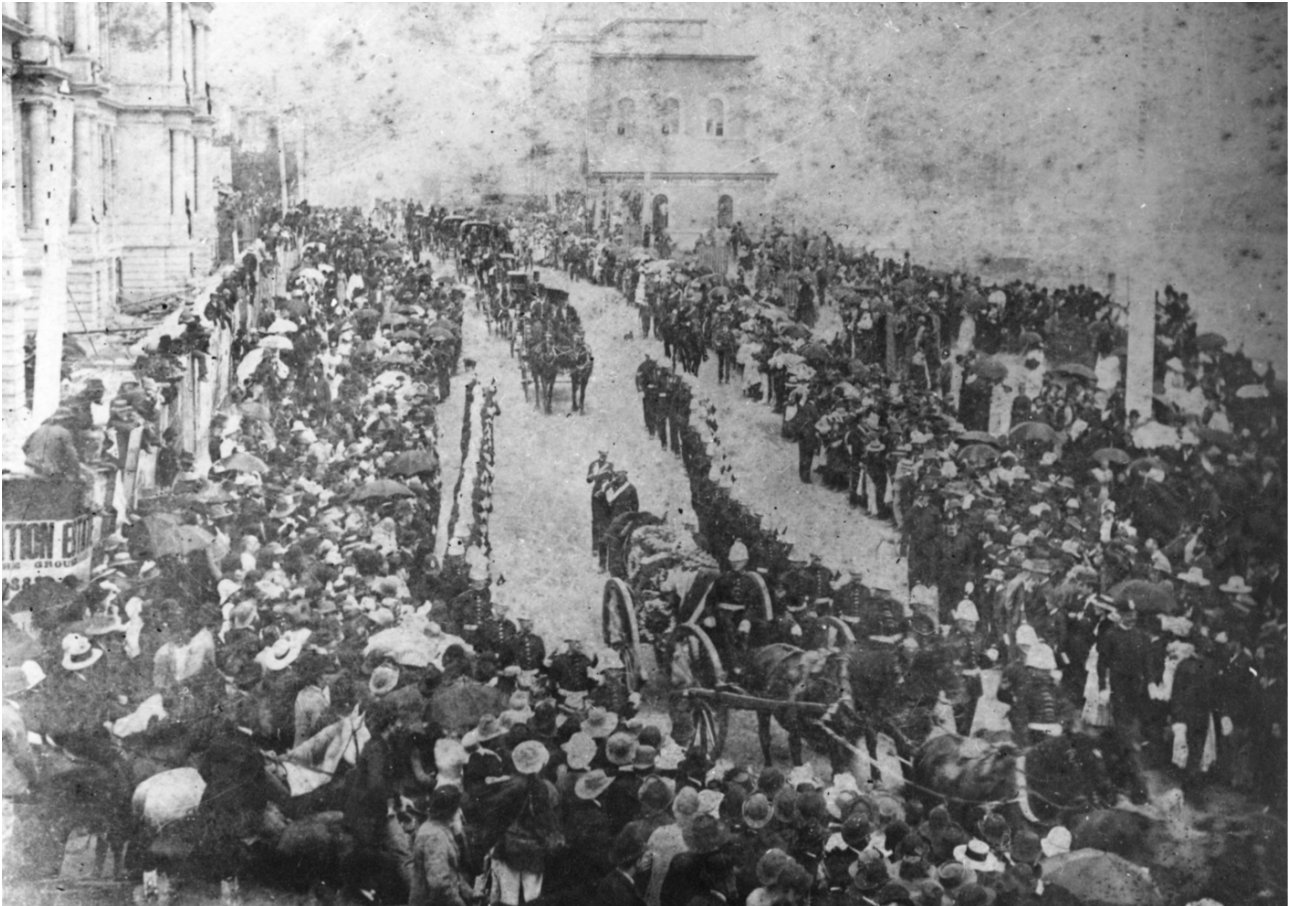


Figure 16 Funeral cortège of Sir Anthony Musgrave showing the coffin on the gun carriage covered by a flag and floral tributes 10 October 1888 (SLQ 201403)

The widow, Lady Musgrave, noted in her diary on the morning of the funeral that she "arranged the 27 crosses & wreaths sent in" (Musgrave 1888:10 October).

Wreaths and other floral tributes were not only placed on the grave but in it. In September 1891, a reporter covering the funeral of Congregational Minister, the Reverend Edward Griffith wrote:

On arrival at the gates the cortège was met by his Excellency Sir Henry Wylie Norman, who had brought with him a magnificent wreath of flowers. It was his Excellency's intention to have placed his tribute of respect upon the coffin at the gates, but it was so thickly covered with wreaths that this was found impossible. In fact, so numerous were the various floral tributes, that the coffin was completely hidden from view, and it was necessary to remove them before it could be carried to

the grave ... The coffin had scarcely touched the bottom of the grave when it was hidden from view by showers of wreaths, the first being solemnly deposited by his Excellency the Governor (*Brisbane Courier* 25 September 1891:5).

In 1898, at the State funeral of Thomas Joseph Byrnes (described in detail in Chapter Six) wreaths were sent to the deceased's home, to St Stephen's Cathedral where the requiem mass was held and to the Brisbane General Cemetery making it "almost impossible to estimate the number of wreaths which were sent as a mark of respect to the deceased statesman" (*Brisbane Courier* 30 September 1898:5). Even so, the incomplete list of donors filled nearly a whole broadsheet column. Three additional mourning carriages were engaged to transfer the wreaths from the cathedral to the cemetery alone (*Brisbane Courier* 30 September 1898:5). A funeral of this size was very profitable for Brisbane's six florists (Gordon & Gotch 1898:50) who:

received orders from every part of the colony, telegrams constantly arriving directing wreaths to be placed on the coffin on behalf of public bodies, prominent men, and friends and acquaintances of the late Premier. The demand for wreaths was so great that the florists were unable to supply many orders (*Northern Miner* 30 September 1898:3).

Despite their talent and artistry, not a single florist was named in any of the reports of Byrnes' funeral:

The Floral tributes were of a most beautiful description, and embraced almost every design known to the floral artist. There were wreaths, crosses, and similar devices in endless variety, some of them being of handsome workmanship. Conspicuous amongst these was a very handsome white cross, sent by the Speaker and members of the Legislative Assembly and which was placed at the foot of the coffin as it lay in the Cathedral (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 1 October 1898:6).

By the turn of the 20th century, the newspaper listing of floral tributes sent to funerals was commonplace including every donor and representing a significant increase in consumption. This increase may also have been driven by aspirational individuals wishing to have their names publicly associated with the social elite in a public forum.

However, a local proponent of the funeral reform movement was less than pleased:

The most notable of these new customs has been the lavish and really wasteful use of flowers for funeral wreaths and crosses to be conveyed to the cemeteries and laid upon the graves of the departed. The custom in the beginning was pretty and had its pathetic side, but of late years it has become extensively abused. The competition in funeral wreaths is becoming a great a tax on friends of the deceased (*Telegraph* 25 May 1898:4).

Walking funerals

A small number of families dispensed with the services of the undertaker altogether, carrying their deceased children in home-made coffins directly to the cemetery for burial (see the Horn Family in Chapter Five). Undertaker James Hislop under examination at the Select Committee to inquire into the Brisbane General Cemetery in 1877, when asked about walking funerals to the new cemetery, stated that he “had not seen any adult funerals conducted in this fashion but some children’s” (*QPP* 1877(3):1202). Unlike their English counterparts, Brisbane’s undertakers did not advertise walking funerals as an option for families who lived within walking distance of the cemetery. In 1859, Woodward & Co. advertised a “a plain walking funeral for £1/15/6 including a good elm coffin, flannel dress, use of six silk bands, use of four crape bands and use of pall” (*Worcester Journal* 24 December 1859:1).

Hearse

In the late 1850s and early 1860s, Brisbane’s undertakers were part-time, supplementing their income as carpenters and cabinet makers with coffin making and did not own a significant amount of wheeled plant. Families and friends of the deceased who had access to a wagon or a coach transported the coffin to the burial ground themselves. The coffin was either collected by relatives from the workshop or delivered to the place of death by the undertaker (Nolan 2009:19). There appears to have been no hearse in Brisbane in February 1856 as the editor of the *Moreton Bay Courier* appealed to someone to supply a small single horse-drawn hearse with the potential of starting a business. “Strangers from a distance have again expressed their surprise that a town the size and population of Brisbane should have so long existed without this highly important requisite to the convenient burying of its dead” (*Moreton Bay Courier* 14 February 1856:3). Transportation of the corpse for poorer families north of the river became a major issue after July 1875 when the Brisbane General Cemetery at Toowong was opened and the NBBG were officially closed. Located five kilometres from the General Post Office, the journey to the Brisbane General Cemetery took longer tying up the undertakers’ plant for longer periods for each funeral thus increasing costs by at least 30 shillings (*QPP* 1877 3(2):1202). Financially stretched poorer families had the option of hiring a wagonette, dogcart or buggy from the undertaker. For example when five-month-old Katherine Warren died in December 1900, her father paid £1/10/- for a coffin and the use of the buggy to convey himself and his deceased daughter. As an indication of the degree of poverty faced by this family, the account was paid in instalments for more than a year (Miller 1900:203).

The first recorded use of a hearse at a Brisbane funeral was in 1862 at Brisbane's first military funeral which in itself attracted a lot of attention (*Courier* 6 March 1862:2). The undertaker was not named and the hearse used may have been a gun carriage. In November 1879, customs officer and member of the No. 1 Battery of the Queensland Volunteer Artillery Samuel McMunn drowned on a pleasure cruise (*Queenslander* 22 November 1879:645). Undertaker William Walsh presented H.M. Customs Department with a bill for £10/-/6 which included laying out the body, a shroud and fitting the gun carriage (Walsh 1879:78). Gun carriages could be used by men of all ranks but were more associated with high ranking officers and state funerals (e.g. that of Sir Anthony Musgrave shown in Figure 16).

Hearses were generally not ordered for children under the age of ten unless they required a coffin longer than 145cm (4' 9"). In 1900, of the 213 hearses ordered for funerals, two were ordered for coffins of this length; one for a boy aged 10 years and the other for a boy aged eight. Younger children were transported by mourning coach (see below).



Figure 17 Best hearse with plumes. One of a series of publicity photographs taken outside John Hislop, Queen Street, Brisbane ca 1885 (SLQ 167961)

Mourning coach

For families without access to their own transport, a mourning coach (Figure 18) was hired from the undertaker to convey them to the burial. This could also be used to carry a child's coffin, placed on the seat opposite the principal mourner or in a compartment under the coachman's seat, eliminating the need to hire a hearse. Mourning coaches had blinds which could be fully pulled down to offer the occupants a degree of privacy in their grief. Better-off families hired a second mourning coach for the conveyance of themselves separate from the coffin. Conveying children's coffins in mourning coaches was still the normal practice in 1900, despite attempts made by undertakers and others to discourage it over the decades as being an unhygienic practice (*South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail* 22 January 1876:5). Brisbane municipal by-laws prohibited the transportation of "any coffin or deceased human body" in a hansom cab (*Telegraph* 8 December 1875:3).

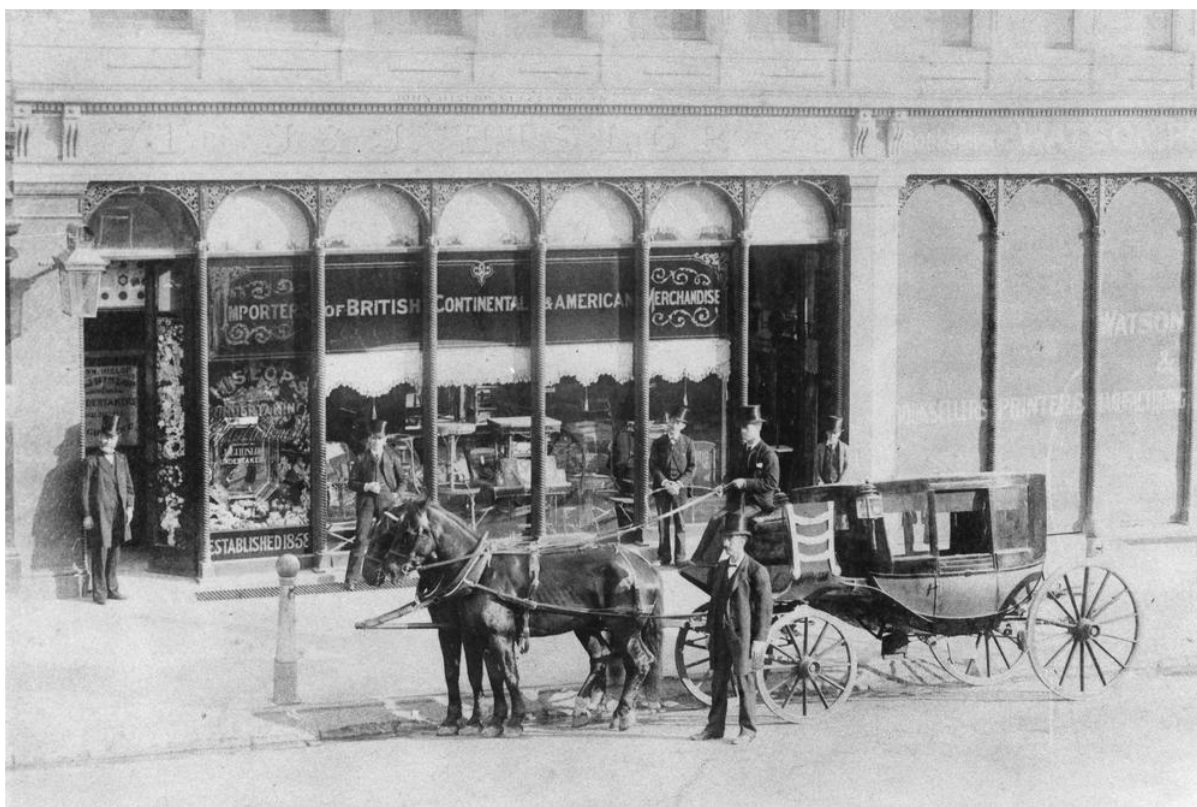


Figure 18 Mourning coach without plumes. One of a series of publicity photographs taken outside John Hislop, Queen Street, Brisbane ca 1885 (SLQ 16766)

Water transport

Brisbane's riverine location made the transportation of the corpse by water a necessity. Prior to the construction of the first bridge to span the Brisbane River in 1865, coffins had to be transported to and from South Brisbane and Kangaroo Point residences by ferry. Dirt

roads with frequent washouts made access to the NBBG difficult to negotiate by hearse, even for those on the same side of the river, so funeral parties sailed upstream from New Farm (Grant and Benjamin 2008:14). When part-time undertaker Alfred Slaughter's eighteen-year-old daughter Ann died in December 1860, her cortège moved by water from her late home at Kangaroo Point at 9am arriving at the New Gaol Wharf opposite Mr Winship's premises 90 minutes later. There, friends were respectfully asked to join the possession for the last walk to the cemetery (*Moreton Bay Courier* 4 December 1860:2). Funeral parties could travel for free on the ferries (QGG 1882 XXX (9):124).

This final journey across the river must have been a potent *memento mori* for one journalist who observed:

On Friday last a spectacle occurred, which, we believe, was never witnessed in Brisbane before, four coffins, containing the corpses of two adults and two children, past [sic] over in the ferry punt from South to North Brisbane almost simultaneously (*Courier* 28 April 1862:2).

When both the Victoria and Indooroopilly Railway Bridges were destroyed by the 5th February 1893 floods, funeral cortèges requiring to access the Brisbane General Cemetery from the other side of the river took to the water again. For example, the cortège of South Brisbane tobacconist George Fagg travelled to Kangaroo Point before taking a ferry to Creek Street and there reforming the cortège and moving off to the Brisbane General Cemetery. The funeral was conducted by undertakers Sillett and Adlington, who had premises on both sides of the river and could use their own plant for both stages of the cortège (*Brisbane Courier* 14 February 1893:1). During the floods many funerals were postponed due to the difficulty of transportation, exacerbated by the flooding of a number of undertakers' branch offices at South Brisbane. In the previous flood of March 1890, George Sillett of Petrie's Undertaking Establishment found that his South Brisbane Branch Office was knee-deep in water (Figure 19).



Figure 19 Petrie's Undertaking Establishment, Stanley Street, South Brisbane during the March 1890 flood (SLQ 91419)

Rail transport

The Brisbane General Cemetery at Toowong, sparked outrage as it was beyond walking distance for the poor to follow their dead to the grave (McClurg 1975:206). In October 1877 as part of the parliamentary inquiry into the operation and future of the Brisbane General Cemetery, witnesses, including undertaker James Hislop, were asked for their opinion of the viability of a branch line to service the cemetery, but in the end it was deemed unfeasible due to the cost of resuming the land (QPP 1877 3(2):1202). Already the Brisbane General Cemetery was considered to be too close to the new residential areas which now surrounded it and a 429 hectare (1060 acre) site was reserved at Wolston, 15 kilometres further along the railway line incorporating a mortuary railway service for efficient, hygienic disposal of the dead (*Brisbane Courier* 17 July 1885:5). Ultimately it was not constructed partly due to the previously mentioned destruction of the railway bridge by flood (*Brisbane Courier* 4 November 1901:8).

For burials conducted in more distant cemeteries, mourners were invited to accompany the corpse from their late residence to the railway station. For example, Jane Graham's remains were removed from her home at Toowong to meet the 10.20am train bound for Ipswich (35 kilometres away) where she was interred (*Brisbane Courier* 20 May 1898:1).

Plumes

Brisbane's established undertakers offered the option of best and second best hearses and mourning coaches which could be embellished with black or white plumes for an additional charge. There were two types of plumes; the shorter head plumes, which were usually fitted to the horses pulling the hearse and the plumes which could be fitted to the hearse (Figure 17) and to the mourning carriages if ordered. White plumes were conventionally used for children and young people (Puckle 1926:108) but there were several exceptions. Undertaker John Smith did not possess enough sets of white plumes when he was contracted to conduct the funeral of 28-year-old Patrick Tracey who died of lung disease in March 1885 (J. Smith 1885:114). Tracey's sister Kate ordered a white coffin mounted with the 'best' registered white coffin furniture and white head plumes for the horses drawing the hearse and the two mourning coaches. Smith hired three sets of white plumes from Hislops for 35/- (J. Smith 1885:114). Although it was unusual for an adult male to have a white coffin and plumes, the funeral did not rate a mention in the newspapers.

It may have been considered unusual for the dour Presbyterians to have funeral fripperies such as plumes, but they were no more or less likely to have them than any other group; the use of plumes was determined by the class of funeral rather than religious persuasion or ethnicity. Surveyor David Moffatt, a Presbyterian elder, had no qualms in ordering plumes for the hearse and three mourning coaches for the funeral of his wife Rose in April 1885. This time, the under-resourced John Smith hired in a pair of head plumes, the 45/- cost passed onto the widower (K.M. Smith 1885:118).

By the end of the 19th century, plumes were rapidly going out of fashion. Only seven of Cannon & Cripps' 221 funerals conducted in 1900 used plumes and none were for deceased under the age of 45 years (Cannon & Cripps 1900:288-314).

The grave

For the bereaved who did not already own the burial rights for a grave, the undertaker liaised with the cemetery trust's secretary and made the full payment for the grave on their behalf before the burial. This fee including the interment fee was directly passed on without a profit margin by the undertaker who in turn expected at least the value of the interment fee as upfront payment before arranging the funeral. For family and friends conducting the funeral themselves, they either visited the cemetery in person paying cash up front, or in the case of the Brisbane General Cemetery, the Trustee's office located in

the central business district. If purchasers could not afford the grave price upfront, by going through the undertaker, they could pay this cost in instalments (along with the funeral).

The cost of burial in the NBBG was ten shillings for adults and six shillings for children in non-pauper graves (Queensland Parliament 1875:858) but this fee quadrupled for burials in the Brisbane General Cemetery and the other cemeteries with ringed Brisbane from the 1870s (Table 15). The Brisbane cemeteries established under the *Cemetery Act* (1865) had the option of selling either single graves or enclosures of various sizes and the ability to charge different fees according to the location of the plot in the cemetery. Smaller municipal cemeteries (e.g. Lutwyche, Nundah) did not divide private graves into two classes and only Brisbane General and South Brisbane cemeteries permitted institutional contract (Class Four) burials.

Table 15 Charges for grave land at four Brisbane Cemeteries (extracted from the QGG 1866 VII (147):1122; QGG 1867 VIII (107):1166; QGG 1874 XV (140):2137; QGG 1878 XXIII (62):942; QGG 1882 XXXI (37):678)

Class	Size	Brisbane General (Toowong)	South Brisbane	Lutwyche	Nundah
Class One	Single	£2/17/- (9' x 5')	£2/17/- (8' x 4')	£1/10/- (8' x 4')	£1/2/6 (8' x 4')
	Double	£4/19/- (9' x 9')	£4/19/- (8' x 8')	£2/10/- (8' x 8')	£1/12/6 (8' x 8')
	Triple	£7/1/- (9' x 12')	£7/1/- (8' x 12')	£3/5/- (8' x 12')	£2/7/6 (8' x 12')
Class Two	Single	£1/15/- (9' x 5')	£1/15/- (8' x 4')		
Class Three	Adult	£1	£1	10/-	7/6
	Children	10/- (Under 8)	10/- (Under 5)	7/6 (Under 5)	5/- (Under 5)
Class Four	Adult	12/-	12/-		
	Children	8/- (Under 8)	8/-		

In addition to the grave fees shown in Table 15, a host of new fees, not previously charged at the NBBGs, raised the ire of the editor of the *Telegraph*:

... funerals are now conducted, in a way and at an expense which leave little to cavil at. But we are now threatened with burdensome charges ... Another source of expense will be the extra trouble thrown upon the undertakers by the red-tapeism which is noticeable in the rules and regulations of the new cemetery, and which does not exist in connection with the old (*Telegraph* 23 July 1875:2).

In addition to now requiring the undertakers to give the Brisbane General Cemetery six working hours' notice before the burial, the new fees listed in Table 16 were payable at the time of burial. These fees applied to all of Brisbane's municipal cemeteries meaning that the bereaved could not easily choose to go elsewhere to avoid them.

Table 16 Fees applicable to Class One to Class Three graves for the Brisbane General Cemetery, 1875 (QGG 1874 XV (140):2137)

Item	Charge
Interment fee, including the cost of sinking each grave six feet	15/-
Interment fee, including the cost of sinking each grave over six feet	
For the first additional foot	5/-
For the second additional foot	7/6
For the third additional foot	10/-
And so on, every additional foot	10/-
For opening of a grave	15/-
For turfing grave (to be charged in all cases)	2/6
For iron label (to be charged in all cases)	3/-
For certificate of right of burial in private grave	5/-
For all interments which take place on Sunday, unless grave is opened on previous day	7/6
For all interments not taking place at the usual hour	10/6
For all interments where the prescribed notice is not given	10/6
For permission to erect headstones etc.	10/6
For copy of register	2/6
For inspecting plan or register	1/-

Little wonder the Cemetery Trustees were accused of price gouging. "There is no apparent reason why these increased burial charges should be made. We have never heard that the existing rates are greatly too low" (*Telegraph* 23 July 1875:2). These fees added significantly to the cost of a burial but as there are no surviving funeral order books for the prior period for comparison, it cannot be determined if cheaper funerals (i.e. using lower quality materials or fewer 'extras') were purchased after the Brisbane General Cemetery was opened to compensate for the additional charges.

The funerary consumption for Class One to Class Three funerals and their cost range is summarised in Table 17 from the data obtained from the funeral order books of William Walsh and his successors John and Kate Mary Smith 1877 to 1900 and those of S. Miller and Cannon & Cripps for 1900 only. These costs include the relevant cemetery fees listed in Table 16 but exclude the grave fees in Table 15.

Table 17 Summary of the consumption of funerary goods for selected years at K.M. Smith

Class	Year	Cost Range	Consumption
1	1877	£6 to £21 adults £2 to £7 children	Fully mounted cloth covered coffin, best hearse/mourning coach, plumes, advertising
	1885	£8 to £25 adults £3 to £8 children	Fully mounted cloth or cedar coffin, best hearse/mourning coach, plumes (occasionally), advertising, flowers (occasionally)
	1895	£9 to £35 adults £3 to £8 children	Cedar coffin, best hearse/mourning coach, plumes (very occasionally), shrouds (occasionally), advertising, flowers
	1900	£10 to £36 adults £3 to £8 children	Cedar coffin, best hearse/mourning coach, plumes (very occasionally), shrouds (occasionally), advertising, flowers
2	1877	£4 to £9 adults £1/15/- to £4 children	Registered Cloth covered coffin, second best hearse/mourning coach advertising (usually), plumes (occasionally)
	1885	£5 to £12 adults £1/19/- to £4 children	Registered Cloth covered coffin, second best hearse/mourning coach advertising (usually)
	1895	£6 to £14 adults £2 to £5 children	Registered Cloth covered coffin, second best hearse/mourning coach advertising (usually), shrouds (occasionally), flowers (occasionally)
	1900	£6 to £16 adults £2 to £5 children	Registered Cloth covered coffin, second best hearse/mourning coach advertising (usually), shrouds (occasionally), flowers
3	1877	£2/15/- to £6 adults 15/- to £1/10/- children	Unregistered coffin, hearse / wagonette
	1885	£3 to £6 adults 19/- to £1/15/- children	Unregistered coffin, hearse / wagonette, single mourning coach
	1895	£3 to £7 adults £1/10/- to £2 children	Unregistered coffin, hearse / wagonette, advertising (very occasionally), single mourning coach
	1900	£4 to £9 adults £1/15/- to £3 children	Unregistered coffin, hearse / wagonette, advertising (occasionally), single mourning coach

In Table 17 adults are interpreted from the data as anyone tall enough to require an adult length coffin i.e. over 5' and unable to be conveyed to the cemetery in a mourning coach therefore requiring a hearse or wagonette. This generally applied to children over the age of ten.

Table 17 shows that the expenditure on individual funerals did not reach the level recorded in London in the late 1860s (Table 10) where the “lowest tradesman needed a £10/2 funeral while the average prosperous tradesman required one for £50 and a professional person’s cost at least £100” (Lacqueur 1983:115). As in the United Kingdom, Brisbane’s undertakers over the study period developed packages of goods and services with common price points. Consumers, probably through previous purchases or the observation of other funerals, would be aware of the difference in the quality of the goods purchased in a £6 Class Two funeral and a £10 Class Two funeral in 1900. For example, the cloth coffin covering would appear more sumptuous in the latter and the coffin decorations more numerous and of better manufacture.

Funeral reform movements and earth to earth burials

The funeral and mourning reform movements which took hold in the southern Australian colonies in the mid-1870s can be argued to only have marginal impact on the design of coffins, materials of construction and consumption of coffin furniture in Brisbane between 1859 and 1901. The Funeral Reform Association in Sydney adopted at its meeting on 11th November 1874 a code containing six regulations with the object of eliminating unnecessary pomp and expense. These were:

1. That the coffin be free of adornment, bearing; only the inscription plate or emblem of faith.
2. That no pall be used. That neither scarfs nor hatbands be worn, nor gloves be provided, neither shall there be mutes nor plume-bearers.
3. That the hearse or carriage in which the body may be conveyed be as plain as possible and devoid of decoration; that the horses wear neither cloths, plumes, nor other trappings; and that, in lieu of mourning-coaches for the conveyance of the mourners and bearers, ordinary vehicles be employed.
4. That the hearse or carriage and other vehicles, move at a somewhat quicker pace than the ordinary walk.
5. That funeral processions from private residences be discontinued, that mourners other than relatives meet at the mortuary or burial ground; and that no notices of funerals appear in the public prints.
6. That inasmuch as the present fashion of mourning is costly, inconvenient, and unhealthy, and is only attainable by very many at too great a sacrifice, the following shall be considered as proper and respectful dress for mourners, viz.:
For Males : The dress ordinarily-worn, with the addition of a black band, round the hat, or left arm, or both. For females: The ordinary dress, whatever its colour, with the addition of one band of thick crape on the left arm for a friend, two bands for a relative and three bands for a husband ; and for out-door wear a black veil, having one, two, or three folds upon it, according to relationship
(*Sydney Morning Herald* 20 November 1874:7).

The other southern colonies adopted very similar codes of regulations but it is unreported if Queensland followed suit. An examination of the *Queenslander* and *Brisbane Courier* newspapers in the 1870s provided only two reports of the progress of the movement:

The reform of funeral customs may be believed to be progressing, although, so far as we in Queensland are concerned, there is no very evident sign of keeping pace with the march of improvement in this particular, as observable in other places...We enclose our dead in coffins as strong and as well ornamented—after the regulation pattern— as we can procure (*Queenslander* 3 July 1875:6).

Writing under the *nom-de-plume* Reform, a correspondent to the *Brisbane Courier* noted:

Some years ago Mr E.R. Drury undertook the initiation of a Funeral Reform Association, with the object of discouraging the unnecessary expense and display which have gradually become a part of our funeral and mourning customs...I am ignorant of the cause that prevented Mr. Drury from prosecuting the good work commenced by him, but from circumstances that have recently come under my notice, I am convinced that funeral reform is even more urgently required now (*Brisbane Courier* 7 November 1879:3).

There is no evidence that the Earth to Earth Society established in the United Kingdom by Dr (later Sir) Seymour Haden in 1875 had any influence on the type of coffin materials used in Brisbane burials. Haden advocated the use of wicker coffins and although reports of such British burials were published (e.g. *Telegraph* 25 August 1875:2, *Queenslander* 27 May 1876:15), these seem to have had no impact on the Brisbane population, as no local newspaper reports of such funerals nor any undertakers' record have been discovered from the mid-1870s which noted any other form of coffin other than those which could be conventionally supplied. No evidence of the use of wicker was discovered at the NBBG (McGowan 2007:32-6).

Isolated examples of the use of wicker were recorded in the southern colonies. In a celebrated case from 1875, Mrs G.H. Poole, aware that she was slowly dying of cancer, wished to be buried in a wicker coffin like the one she had seen in the *Illustrated London News*. She commissioned a Melbourne basket weaver to construct one and was buried in it in April 1876, in the face of much ridicule from the newspapers and the undertaking industry (Jalland 2002:116).

From the wage data presented in Chapter One (Table 5), it would be very difficult for the average labourer to pay for a £6 funeral as undertakers expected at least part-payment (usually half) before the funeral. As membership of burial clubs sponsored by fraternal and friendly societies negated the need to have the money available up front, many working men enrolled, paying in a small weekly fee in return for either a payout to arrange the

funeral through an undertaker of their choice, or a funeral package arranged for them by the burial club (Thompson 1988:199-202). Burial clubs flourished in mid-Victorian England and membership of one conferred a degree of respectability through demonstrating thrift (Reeves 1913:69). Burial clubs in Queensland started to make their appearance after the economic depression of 1867. For example, in 1869 the Sickness and Burial Club was established by Masonic Lodge No. 921 on behalf of the Temperance Movement for its members (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 5 October 1869:2). In the same year, the Queensland Southern-Western Railway Servants Friendly Society was established, which at its peak had generous death provisions of up to £55 paid upon the death of a member and £10 on the death of a member's wife (*Brisbane Courier* 18 January 1887:7). The number of societies in Queensland increased from 176 with a membership of 12,301 in 1887 to 279 with a membership of 21,901 in 1896. By 1901 there were 30,726 members (Queensland Government Statistician's Office 1998:271).

A fraternal or friendly society is a formal group with a recorded membership and a set of rules of membership (Blythe 2013:218). Schiffman (2014:679) further expands the group definition with the addition of a clearly defined structure and specific goals or outcomes. By adhering to the rules of the Manchester Unity International Order of Odd Fellows (MUIOOF), Nathan Bradman achieved the outcome of providing a fitting funeral for his wife Charlotte who died of ovarian cancer in August 1885 (J. Smith 1885:37). Charlotte's £12 funeral included a hearse, two mourning coaches and a Class Two grave which was paid by the Lodge a fortnight later (J. Smith 1885:37). Jessie Black, whose husband William was a member of the same lodge, died of typhoid the following December and received an identical funeral with the same payment arrangement (J. Smith 1885:103). Unlike other funeral orders, their husbands' occupations are not recorded, only the membership of the MUIOOF, redefining their social status, that may have been lower if not for the group membership. After John Smith's death in 1886, the firm ceased conducting funerals for the MUIOOF.





Chapter Five – Individual consumers

Drawing on archaeological artefacts, a wide variety of documentary sources and statistical data, the experiences of some Brisbane residents are presented to highlight particular individual consumption of funerary goods in an urban setting across age, class and wealth boundaries. A particular emphasis is placed on the goods purchased as part of the death and burial ritual. Jalland (2002:2) notes that death in Australia has always been a diverse and individual experience and that no single instance exemplifies the multiple modes of death, burial and mourning that existed in the colonial era. In the case studies presented below a range of funerals conducted in Brisbane between 1859 and 1901 are examined to describe the arrangements which were made and to demonstrate the level of funerary consumption in each. In some cases, however, a conscious decision was made by individuals to reduce funerary consumption to the lowest level possible, while some others spent more than they could afford.

From informal site observation by the author in the Brisbane General Cemetery (1994 – 2014) comparing headstone size with location, the elevated topography initially dictated selling price with the most desirable private graves (Classes One and Two) being located on the tops of the ridges and public graves (Class Three) located at the bottom of the gullies. However, those families wishing to erect large monuments found that building on the steep slopes required the construction of terraces, greatly adding to the cost of the monument, so private graves were also allocated on flatter parts of these cemeteries, usually along access roads for maximum accessibility and visibility (e.g. Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1871 – 1884:B318). This layout of Class One grave sites mirrors the findings of Banner's (1997) study of Waverley Cemetery, Sydney, New South Wales.

There were two communities for whom grave class was immaterial; the Jewish Congregation and the Chinese. Jewish burials in Brisbane were conducted in the North Brisbane Jewish Burial Ground at Milton prior to 1875 and then in Portion Three at the Brisbane General Cemetery at Toowong from 1875. The management of the exclusively allocated portion was in the hands of the Chevra Kadisha (Jewish Burial Society) who determined the location of the graves. All graves were sold to the Chevra Kadisha at the fixed amount of £2/-/6 (e.g. Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1875-1891:L690). As Jewish

custom dictated, each grave contained only one burial except in the case of mothers who died in childbirth. The child was buried in the same grave as the mother but in a separate coffin (Elzas 1915:11) as was the case of the burial of Caroline Benjamin in December 1886 when K.M. Smith provided a 6' cedar coffin for the mother and a small cedar coffin for her still-born child (Smith 1886:276).

For Chinese burials in Brisbane, the grave class was also immaterial as the grave was purchased for temporary use. Approximately five years after burial, the skeletal remains were exhumed, cleaned and placed in an ossuary urn for repatriation to Canton, China (Ling 2001:39). While the portion allocated to Chinese burials at the Brisbane General Cemetery changed four times between 1875 and 1900 (Department of Environment and Heritage Protection 2013) the grave fee charged remained constant as a Class Three (public) grave. Chinese funerals were conducted by Brisbane's undertakers and ranged greatly in price depending on whether the interment was for a labourer in a market garden or a wealthy city merchant.

When John Smith took over the business of William Walsh, he started to record the occupation of those responsible for the payment for the funeral. In most cases this was the father for the burial of a child or the husband of a deceased wife. This is the only place where this data is captured to indicate the financial status of the deceased's family or friends as the burial registers of the Brisbane General and South Brisbane Cemeteries did not record occupational data during the study period.

Class one burials were numerically the smallest of the grave classes. As would be expected, professional and white collar workers predominate in class. Less predictable was the high proportion of skilled blue collar workers who had accumulated sufficient financial capital to afford to purchase a private grave in a location of their choice. Table 18 shows the breadth of occupations covered represented in this class. Skilled workers also comprised of nearly 40% of Class Two burials.

Table 18 Occupations of those responsible for funeral payment extracted from the funeral order book of K.M. Smith for 1885

Grave class	Occupation represented (n)
One	(2) Publican; (1) Baker, Blacksmith, Butcher, Clerk, Draper, Grocer, Ironmonger, Mariner, Merchant, Miner, Presbyterian minister, Railway worker, Rate collector, Surveyor.
Two	(6) Builder, Drayman; (5) Boot maker, Butcher, Carpenter, Civil servant, Labourer; (3) Blacksmith, Boarding House Keeper, Cab proprietor, Clerk, Property owner, Police constable, Printer, Publican, Railway worker; (2) Baker, Bank clerk, Cabinetmaker, Contractor, Draper, Gardener, Gentleman, Grazier, Mariner, Monumental mason, Music teacher, Railway Clerk, Woodworker; (1) Accountant, Annuitant, Boat builder, Brass finisher, Bricklayer, Brick maker, Businessman, Captain, Chemist, Coach maker, Commission agent, Cook, Cordial maker, Councillor, Dealer, Decorator, Engineer, Entertainer, Gravedigger, Grocer, Head waiter, Horse dealer, Joiner, Lather, Livery stable proprietor, Museum clerk, Omnibus proprietor, Piano Tuner, Pieman, Postman, Post Office Clerk, Pound keeper, Railway engineer, Salesman, Ship's fireman, Sugar plantation manager, Tanner, Telegraph operator, Theatre set carpenter, Upholsterer, Van proprietor.
Three	(15) Labourer; (9) Storeman; (6) Carpenter; (5) Boot maker; (4) Blacksmith, Butcher, Clerk, Grocer, Police Constable, Saddler, Servant; (3) Bricklayer, Cook, Mariner, Painter, Property owner, Tailor, Woodworker; (2) Baker, Brass finisher, Commission agent, Draper, Fireman, Piano Tuner, Railway clerk, Ship's crew, Ship's fireman, Shopkeeper, Soldier, Watchman; (1) Barmaid, Boarding House Keeper, Boilermaker, Bookbinder, Bullock driver, Cabinetmaker, Cab proprietor, Coach maker, Collar maker, Cordial maker, Drayman, Dressmaker, Engineer, Ferryman, French polisher, Gardener, Hairdresser, Immigration agent, Lather, Laundry worker, Music teacher, Needlewoman, Packing case maker, Plumber, Pottery worker, Printer, Produce merchant, Railway engineer, Railway worker, Retired, Sawyer, Sugar mill worker, Tinsmith, Wharf worker, Wheelwright.

Smith's occupational data was then ordered by **the author using** census categories formulated by Crook (1958 Appendix III) to organise occupations into social status categories presented in Table 19.

Table 19 Grave class by census categories derived from Crook (1958:Appendix IIIA)

Grave Class	Census Categories	Number	Percentage
1 <i>n=16</i>	Professional	2	12.5
	Semi- Professional	1	6.25
	Businessmen, Proprietors, Managers, Officials	4	25
	White Collar – Clerks and Salesmen	3	18.75
	Skilled	6	37.5
2 <i>n=133</i>	Professional	3	2.26
	Semi- Professional	1	0.75
	Businessmen, Proprietors, Managers, Officials	32	24.06
	White Collar – Clerks and Salesmen	25	18.80
	Skilled	53	39.85
	Unskilled - Domestic	1	0.75
	Unskilled - Manual	13	9.77
3 <i>n=144</i>	Professional	1	0.69
	Semi- Professional	2	1.39
	Businessmen, Proprietors, Managers, Officials	16	11.11
	White Collar – Clerks and Salesmen	12	8.33
	Skilled	75	52.08
	Unskilled - Domestic	6	4.17
	Unskilled - Manual	29	20.14
	Total	293	

Grave class and occupation can be considered as ordinal variables. The strength of association between two ordinal variables can be measured using the Gamma statistic (G) (Foddy 1988:127). The closer G is to 1 the greater the strength of association. The result for the data from Table 19 is $G=0.5657$ or a 56.5% association between occupation and grave class, i.e. 44% of the data is not explained by grave class. Discussion concerning this discrepancy is presented in Chapter Eight.

When the median cost of a funeral was calculated by sex across various age categories, there was little appreciable difference between the two sets of values except for the category of over 71 years (Table 20). The small sample size was skewed by a series of Class One funerals.

Table 20 Median cost of funerals by sex and age in 1885 $n=397$ (extracted from funeral orders K.M. Smith 1885:66-103)

Age	≤ 6m	≤ 12m	≤ 24m	≤ 5y	≤ 8y	≤ 18y	≤ 30y	≤ 50y	≤ 70y	≥ 71y
Female	$n=62$	$n=22$	$n=12$	$n=11$	$n=7$	$n=7$	$n=24$	$n=17$	$n=20$	$n=4$
Female range	£2 to £7/12	£2/15 to £6/2	£4 to £6	£3 to £16/12	£4 to £6/10	£8/10 to £16/11	£5/10 to £17/12	£7/16 to £17/16	£9/10 to £13/14	£10 to £13/11
Female median	£4	£4	£4/4	£5/10	£5	£10/10	£10/10	£11	£10/5	£11/4
Male	$n=47$	$n=24$	$n=26$	$n=11$	$n=4$	$n=7$	$n=34$	$n=39$	$n=15$	$n=4$
Male range	£2/10 to £8	£2/5 to £6/10	£3/15 to £6/10	£4 to £5/11	£4/4 to £7/16	£3 to £11/10	£6/5 to £21/16	£4/3 to £17	£7 to £16/07	£11 to £18/15
Male median	£4	£4	£4/3	£5	£6/1	£10/10	£10/6	£10/10	£11	£17/10

Class One Graves

The purchasers of Class One graves could select (in theory) their plot wherever they liked in the cemetery, even in land allocated for Class Three burials. However, an examination of the Brisbane General Cemetery Burial Register and the Brisbane General Cemetery Cash Book shows that Class One purchasers generally selected plots in the vicinity of other relations, friends, business associates, religious leaders and people of the same social standing. For example, when Sidney Finney, the wife of James Isles' business partner Thomas Finney, died in 1883, James purchased the adjoining grave. James Isles died in 1888 and when Thomas Finney died in 1903, the founders of the Finney Isles & Co. Department Store were reunited in death despite being of different religious persuasions; Isles a Presbyterian and Finney an Anglican (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1884 - 1893).

Observers of the funerals of those for whom family or friends had selected Class One graves would have the expectation of a grand funeral. A disproportionately high number of Class One burials, including State Funerals (examined separately in Chapter Six), were conducted by undertaker John Hislop, whose motto was "Everything is First Class" (see Figure 30). Unfortunately the funeral order books for John Hislop for this period have not

survived, so it is not possible to determine exactly what goods and services were purchased from his firm as being “First Class” and how much was expended upon them. However, the types of coffins advertised by Hislop in Figure 30 are typical of coffin purchases made by Class One consumers from other undertakers whose records have survived, and so it is possible to extrapolate expenditure on these funeral purchases.

1860s Georgina Hely and Lucy Drew

Queensland Colonial Under-secretary William L.G. Drew and his large, extended family lived in affluent circumstances at Toowong, four kilometres from Brisbane’s central business district (England 2012:7-9). The deaths examined occurred in 1866 when the NBBGs were in operation. As grave class did not exist in these burial grounds, it can be assumed that the Drew family would have had the equivalent of Class One funerary consumption because when their eldest daughter Mary died aged 12 in December 1877, a Class One grave was bought for her in the recently opened Brisbane General Cemetery at Toowong (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1871-1884:A873).

Upper class families employed private nurses to provide care for the dying in the home (Jalland 2002:80). After a death, it was the responsibility of the nurse or the family’s female servants to attend directly to the corpse while a senior male member of the household contacted the undertaker and made the arrangements for the burial (Jalland 2002:129-30). Lower class families without these financial resources used the services of female family members, neighbours and friends to lay out the corpse. The Drew’s neighbour Mrs Rogers and her adult daughter Minnie also assisted the household by making the requisite purchases of mourning clothes and materials on the family’s behalf (Mitchell 1866:375-6).

On the death of infant Lucy Drew on the 28th September 1866, Mitchell (1866:417-8) records how the father tried to close her eyes before leaving nurse to place the baby in her crib and attempt to close her eyes again. Mitchell had an idealised vision of the beauty of the corpse despite the fact the infant had suffered from constant diarrhoea and vomiting. After the baby was washed and dressed, she was laid out on the bed where shillings were placed on her eyes in a third attempt to close them fully. Partially opened eyes destroyed the illusion of peaceful sleep. Shillings were used in the Drew household as they were smaller than pennies and a more suitable size for infants (Mitchell 1866:420).

Lucy Drew’s burial was held the day after she died (Mitchell 1866:423). Overnight her body lay on a bed strewn with rosebuds while Mitchell kept watch (Mitchell 1866:422). In the afternoon, the undertaker arrived with the small white coffin in which the baby was laid,

again covered with flowers (Mitchell 1866:423). The family took their final farewell before the lid was screwed down and conveyed to burial (Mitchell 1866:423). It is unclear from the diary whether the coach in which Lucy was conveyed belonged to the Drew family or was a mourning coach hired from an unnamed undertaker. No records of the three undertakers operating in Brisbane at that time (Joshua Ebenston, George Barney Petrie and Francis Murray) have survived, so the actual services provided and the cost cannot be determined. Five years later Murray advertised children's funerals with best mourning coach for £2 and with a second-class mourning coach for £1/10 (*Brisbane Courier* 1 February 1871:1). Lucy Drew died at home which was the norm in colonial Brisbane but the multiple visits by doctors and a dedicated nurse set the Drew family apart from the average family.

Almost three weeks earlier, similar rituals had been performed for Lucy Drew's grandmother Georgina Hely. Mitchell does not go into as much detail concerning the laying out of this body as this task was undertaken by the Drew's nurse. One ritual Mitchell records was the drawing of the curtains by Mr Drew after Mrs Hely's death and keeping them closed until he returned home from the burial (Mitchell 1866:377). This is in accordance with the advice proffered in the etiquette guides of the day (e.g. Cassell & Co. 1869:344).

Georgina Hely's death was advised in the newspaper the day after she died, but no funeral details were advertised (*Brisbane Courier* 11 September 1866:2). William Drew also placed a notice for his infant daughter on the day after she died, confirming that the family had sufficient financial capital to do so at a time when infant deaths were rarely notified.

The mourning rituals performed by this family required significant financial outlay and with six surviving children, would have been a significant impost even on a family as comfortably-off as the Drews. As a long-term house guest of high social standing but little financial means, Mitchell felt obliged to assist the family with their mourning preparations and despatched Minnie Rogers (the neighbour) into town to purchase some black crape and netting to trim one of her own dresses and make a crape armband for Mr Drew. Over a week Mitchell helped sew black mourning outfits for the Drew children aged from ten years to eighteen months in order to save the expense of purchasing them (Mitchell 1866:378).

With the death of her mother, there was a degree of urgency in obtaining suitable new mourning clothes for Mrs Drew as it was considered bad luck to keep them in the house (Curl 1972:9) and, unusually for the period, she had elected to attend her mother's burial

instead of staying secluded in the house which would have been expected of a woman of her social class.

According to modern etiquette, ladies do not attend funerals, the ceremonies being considered too mournfully exciting for their delicate organisation. But some members of the fair sex are determined to brace the excess of grief, in order to pay the last tribute to those they mourn (Cassell & Co. 1860:65).

Mitchell recorded:

Minnie came down this morning and arranged with Mrs Drew about the mourning, part of which must be ready by this evening as she insists upon going to the funeral tomorrow... Breakfasted early at which Mrs Drew attended dressed in her deep mourning, an entire crape skirt over black silk (Mitchell 1866:376).

In 1866, there were a number of Brisbane dressmakers either working independently or associated with drapery stores (Pugh 1866:227) who could make up mourning at the "shortest possible notice" (*Brisbane Courier* 30 June 1866:2). The crinoline supported dresses of the mid-1860s with their multitude of petticoats of the type worn by Mrs Drew could require upward of twenty metres of material and six to seven hundred metres of ribbon and trimmings (Taylor 2009:132).

Minnie may have had to visit a number of specialty stores in order to obtain the family's mourning requisites. For example, black-bordered mourning handkerchiefs were available at Charles Street's establishment (*Brisbane Courier* 4 October 1866:1). It was not until 1871 that Queen Street retailer Finney and Isles opened a dedicated mourning department (*Brisbane Courier* 4 January 1871:1). By the late 1870s there were at least three dedicated mourning departments no doubt inspired by the success of great London mourning warehouses such as Coulthards, Jays and Peter Robinson. Not everyone was pleased with the expansion of the mourning emporium to Brisbane facilitating expenditure on an ever larger range of apparel and paraphernalia:

Mourning is a great institution. It helps to swell the drapers' profits in providing habiliments of woe, and piles up fortunes for such people as the late Mr Peter Robinson, of London, whose great mourning warehouse in Oxford-street is said to return something between £70,000 and £90,000 per annum net joy to the proprietors (*Brisbane Courier* 20 January 1896:6).

Mourning jewellery would have been an essential part of Mrs Drew's mourning costume although the Mitchell diary makes no mention of it. There were strict rules of etiquette governing the wearing of jewellery during the mourning period with jet and pearls being deemed the most appropriate; coloured stones not to be worn under any circumstances (Cassell & Co. 1860:67). Flavelle Brothers of Queen Street were one of a number of Brisbane jewellers who imported "first class London-made jewellery" including mourning

brooches and Whitby jet (Pugh 1866:292). In 1900, mourning jewellery was still widely advertised demonstrating that the demand for it had not diminished (e.g. *Telegraph* 6 December 1900:8). It was available in Whitby jet and onyx, as well as the cheaper vulcanite and glass (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 21 December 1872:8). A range of budgets was catered for. "Mourning jewellery of black glass has replaced the more expensive jet ornaments among the lower classes" (*Gympie Times* 28 August 1880:2).

Mitchell's diary does not mention if the Drew family ordered mourning cards to be sent to their extended family and friends of the late Mrs Hely but spends a considerable amount of time answering the letters of condolence which came to the house (Mitchell 1866:409-10). The replies would have been written on black bordered mourning paper and envelopes obtainable from J.W. Buxton's Stationery Store in Queen Street (*Brisbane Courier* 14 February 1866:5).

Gertrude Drew selected a headstone (Figure 20) for her mother on the 19th September 1866, ten days after the death.

Sitting with Mrs Drew as usual; she received some books containing devices for tombstones etc.; monuments she was looking over all the morning, selecting a monument to place over poor Mrs Hely. She fixed at last upon a stone slab, with a cross upon the top (Mitchell 1866:397)

This decision was made in the privacy of her own home from catalogues probably delivered to her by either John Petrie or George Prentice, the only monumental masons in Brisbane at the time (Pugh 1866:231) or by the undertaker acting as an agent.



Figure 20 Gravestone of Georgina Hely and Lucy Drew now located in the Christ Church monumental reserve, Milton, Brisbane (BCC B120-22997)

1870s John Scorra

Yorkshire-born John Scorra was a high ranking officer with the Queensland Colonial Railway Department. Since joining the department in 1865, he rose steadily through the ranks and in the final six years had managed to double his annual income from £200 to £400 (Registrar General of Queensland 1879:67). In late October 1879, the 40-year old died suddenly while at work as a senior clerk. In his office, he had a coughing fit of such intensity that he burst a blood vessel (*Brisbane Courier* 29 October 1879:3). Although a doctor was quickly on the scene, Scorra died around three o'clock in the afternoon (*Brisbane Courier* 29 October 1879:3). Undertaker William Walsh removed the body from the railway station and took it to Scorra's home at Taringa where he, or the two other men he paid to assist him, washed and laid out the body and wrapped it in a shroud (Walsh 1879:74). The next morning, someone (presumably from the family) went to the Brisbane General Cemetery and selected the location for a 9' x 9' Class One grave. This decision attracted an extra fee of £3/4/- on top of the usual £1 fee for a Class Two grave (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1875-1891:C258). Walsh returned to the house with the hearse fitted with plumes (extra £1) for the funeral which left at 4.45pm for the cemetery (*Brisbane Courier* 29 October 1879:1). The funeral was timed late in the day presumably so that Scorra's colleagues could attend as his death "was much regretted by the officers of the department, among whom he was held in high esteem" (*Morning Bulletin* 4 November 1879:2). Advertisements for the funeral had been placed in both the *Brisbane Courier* and *Telegraph*. The burial service was conducted by Reverend Robert Creyke, the Anglican incumbent at Toowong, to whom Walsh paid 7/6, Creyke's standard fee (Walsh 1879:74). At the time of his death Scorra was earning about £8 per week (Registrar General of Queensland 1879:67) so a funeral costing £16/15/- including the grave fees of £5/4/6 was a significant investment as Scorra's entire estate was valued at under £700 (QSA Southern Wills 1879:1957). Walsh allowed the widow a discount of 15/- to encourage prompt payment (Walsh 1879:74).

1880s Lady Palmer

Cecilia, Lady Palmer, wife of Sir Arthur Hunter Palmer, President of the Legislative Council, died at her residence Oakwal, Windsor, in late August 1885 from tuberculosis (*Queensland Figaro and Punch* 5 September 1885:3). As a mark of respect, the flag on the Parliamentary Building and those of the vessels in harbour were lowered to half-mast, and the shutters of the houses of prominent citizens were put up when the death of Lady Palmer became widely known (*Brisbane Courier* 1 September 1885:4).

Lady Palmer's funeral cortège, headed by the hearse, consisted of three mourning coaches conveying the chief mourners and 40 private carriages, carrying the prominent citizens of Brisbane. The cortège left Windsor for the Brisbane General Cemetery and proceeded through the commercial areas of Fortitude Valley, Queen Street and George Street reaching upwards of 800 metres in length. The majority of businesses along the route closed briefly as was the custom (*Brisbane Courier* 2 September 1885:5).

The coffin, plainly discernible through the windows of the glass-sided hearse, was covered with black velvet, edged with silver fringe. Its lid was strewn with wreaths and crosses of flowers, sent by sympathising friends. Lady Palmer was interred following the impressive Service of the Church of England read by the Venerable Archdeacon Glennie (*Queensland Figaro and Punch* 5 September 1885:3).

The use of the fringing on the coffin instead of coffin lace was fashionable for a comparatively short period of time before polished cedar became the norm for Class One and Two funerals in the late 1880s. The funeral was conducted by undertaker W.H. Hancock whose funeral order books have not survived, so this evidence of funerary consumption has come from the newspaper description. However, a series of entries in the diary of undertaker John Smith for the same year details the difficulty in obtaining 3½ inch wide gold fringe (J. Smith 1885:6-8). Smith's friend Harry Dark was visiting Sydney when he sent a telegram to Smith stating that the fringe could be had there for 11/6 per yard. Smith sent a return telegram to Dark asking him to order eight yards for him, which Dark gave to Smith on his return to Brisbane (J. Smith 1885:8).

1890s John Joseph and Mary Jane Hayes

The funeral of the popular publican of the Terminus Hotel, John Joseph Hayes in April 1895 and that of his widow Mary Jane four months later, may be considered a typical display of funerary consumption by those who had made their money through commerce.

When John Hayes lost his father Owen Hayes in October 1875, he purchased a Class One grave for £6/6/- in the Catholic Portion of the newly opened Brisbane General Cemetery at Toowong (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1875-1891:198). Consequently, when John Hayes died suddenly aged 46 at his South Brisbane hotel, his widow was only liable for the 19/- grave reopening fee, which was an insignificant portion of the £25/17- total she spent on his funeral (Smith 1895:150). K.M. Smith's 'best' hearse, drawn by four horses, and three mourning coaches with pairs and plumes 'all round' were ordered. Smith did not have enough plumes or ten horses at her disposal, so she had to hire in plant from two other undertakers. From Sillett & Co., Smith engaged one man, a pair of horses and two pairs of head plumes for £1/5/- and from Cannon & Cripps, two men and another pair

of horses for £1. The 5' 9" coffin was of polished cedar. No fewer than eight funeral notices were placed in the *Brisbane Courier* by family members and the various associations of which Hayes was a prominent member (*Brisbane Courier* 30 April 1895:1). These advertisements were duplicated in the *Telegraph* and the *Observer* (Smith 1895:150). The Hibernian Society formed a guard of honour and funeral rites were performed by the deceased's brother, the Reverend Thomas Hayes (*Freeman's Journal* 11 May 1895:16).

Mary Hayes was left a widow with seven children (*Brisbane Courier* 30 April 1895:5). About six weeks after her husband's death (and the day after she had paid for his funeral), it emerged that Mary Hayes did not own the freehold title of the land on which their hotel was built as it had been erroneously issued and lapsed on the death of her husband (*Brisbane Courier* 18 June 1895:4). Mary Hayes and her children were potentially homeless and financially ruined. Consequently she sued the Registrar of Titles for damages from the Title's Office Insurance Fund for £10 000 (*Observer* 18 June 1895:2). Two weeks later, the Executors of the estate put up for auction the hotel's billiard table, sulky and surplus stock (*Brisbane Courier* 3 July 1895:8). With the stress of her husband's death and the on-going court proceedings, Mary Hayes's health collapsed; "she seemed to fret very much" (*Freeman's Journal* 24 August 1895:16). She lapsed into a coma, dying in August 1895 aged 43 (Smith 1895:161). Her brother-in-law, the Reverend Thomas Hayes, ordered from K.M. Smith an identical funeral to that of her late husband (Smith 1895:161). It included £3/17/6 for the placement of ten advertisements in the *Brisbane Courier*, five in the *Observer* and five in the *Telegraph* (Smith 1895:161). These short advertisements were placed by various members of the extended family instead of one longer advertisement naming all the family members; a format which had not yet come into vogue. Thirteen priests and a large number of citizens accompanied Mary Hayes to her grave (*Freeman's Journal* 24 August 1895:16). The £27 funeral fee was paid in October 1895 (Smith 1895:161) from the proceeds of her husband's £730 personal estate (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 13 August 1895:2).

1900 Charles Curnow

Despite being an excellent swimmer and diver, twenty-year old Charles Norman Curnow drowned in the Metropolitan Baths, Edward Street, Brisbane in January 1900. He was an employee of the Government Printing Office and son of the ex-Commissioner for Railways Francis Curnow (*Telegraph* 29 January 1900:4). Police contract undertaker Sophie Miller arranged the removal of the corpse the short distance from the Baths to the Brisbane Morgue in Alice Street, for which she eventually received 5/- paid to her by Cannon &

Cripps who received the lucrative contract for the funeral from the deceased's father. Curnow was dressed in a swansdown shroud (16/-) and interred in a "handsome best polished 6' cedar coffin mounted in silver" (*Brisbane Courier* 31 January 1900:4). Two mourning coaches were hired in addition to the hearse and multiple advertisements were placed in the *Brisbane Courier* and *Telegraph*, announcing the funeral to his wide circle of friends (e.g. *Telegraph* 29 January 1900:1)). For this the father paid £15/4/6 (Cannon & Cripps 1900:294). The Reverend Charles James of the Albert Street Methodist Church waived the usual 7/6 fee. The funeral cortège consisting of over 40 vehicles departed Francis Curnow's residence at 4pm, timed to avoid the worst of the heat but not late enough to attract the 10/6 late fee charged by the cemetery for burials after 6pm. Several large wreaths (also described as "handsome") were sent (*Brisbane Courier* 31 January 1900:4). Curnow was interred in an existing family plot at the Brisbane General Cemetery (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1893-1903:X141).

Class One variation - Justice Alfred Lutwyche

"In compliance with his wishes there was no funeral display" (*Telegraph* 16 June 1880:2). Justice Alfred Lutwyche arrived in Brisbane in 1859 and became a judge in the newly constituted Supreme Court of Queensland (Howell 1974:141). As such, he should have been a member of the same social class as the Drew Family, but Lutwyche displayed a highly individualistic streak including his choice of marriage partner. By marrying his housekeeper, Lutwyche was passed over for the dormant commission to administer the colony in the governor's absence as his wife was "unfit for the circle into which her husband's rank must place her" (Howell 1974:141). He was noted for his numerous quarrels with successive governments over his reformist agendas.

Lutwyche had led a full life and his death was not unexpected as he had been ailing for some time and had just commenced a months' leave of absence from his duties on the Bench. Although suffering from "a painful and aggravating illness, his mind maintained its pristine vigour" (*Week* 19 June 1880:585). As such, Lutwyche had ample opportunity to make his final wishes known and had made arrangements for his burial in an in-ground vault adjacent to St Andrew's Anglican Church in the suburb of Lutwyche several years earlier (*Week* 19 June 1880:585). As the donor of the land to the church, Lutwyche could determine the vault's location in what was essentially a private cemetery, a privilege afforded to few others in Brisbane, but commonplace in rural areas. Lutwyche's funeral cortège should have been one in a series of grand State funerals of his peers (e.g. Sir Maurice O'Connell in 1879) but his consisted of mourning coaches and private carriages

“without any particular order of arrangement”, four mounted troopers and a body of police on foot accompanying the unadorned cedar coffin borne on a wagonette. Lutwyche particularly desired that neither hearse nor pall be used and only a single wreath presented (*Queenslander* 19 June 1880:789). Lutwyche’s desire for simplicity in his funeral arrangements probably stems from a lasting friendship with author and funeral reformer Charles Dickens, with whom he had worked on the *Morning Chronicle* in 1833 (*Brisbane Courier* 14 June 1880:3).

The cost of the funeral arrangements are unknown as undertaker Walter Barrett’s records have been lost but as an indication, competitor William Walsh advertised in the same edition which carried the tidings of Justice Lutwyche’s death that he could “perform plain and respectable adults’ funerals in accordance with the rules of the “Funeral Reform Association” from six pounds upwards” (*Telegraph* 14 June 1880:1). According to his funeral order book of the same date, Walsh was charging on average £9/10 for a respectable funeral comprising of coffin, hearse, coach and grave and £5 for a cheap non-contract funeral to a Class Three grave (Walsh 1880:116). It seems that the key word in Walsh’s advertisement is *upwards* as there were no £6 funeral orders which would have met with the rules of the Funeral Reform Association (*Sydney Morning Herald* 20 November 1874:7).

Pine and Phillips (1970:409) in their sociological analysis of funeral expenditure, concluded that “the upper status is traditionally accorded a certain freedom to behave in generally self-fulfilling ways and they are not expected to conform completely to social conventions ... [they] select their funeral purchases to please themselves”.

Class One variation – Mabel Everett

Mabel Everett, the four-month old daughter of Quaker ironmonger Herbert Everett, died and was buried on the 26th October 1885 (K.M. Smith 1885:70). The main feature that distinguishes this burial from the numerous other babies’ funerals conducted by John Smith is the overall cost. It is the only baby that year for whom a Class One grave was purchased, comprising £2/17/6 of the £7/12/- funeral cost. Typically, babies from more affluent families were buried in existing family enclosures or a Class Two grave was purchased for them at approximately half of the cost of a Class One grave (e.g. K.M. Smith 1885:65). The funeral comprised a 2’3” coffin and two mourning coaches that left from the family home at Kangaroo Point to the South Brisbane Cemetery (K.M. Smith 1885:70). Mabel was the sole occupant of the grave which remained unmarked in accordance with

her family's Quaker beliefs. The exclusivity of the Class One grave ensured that no other individuals of different beliefs could be buried in the grave.

Class Two Graves

Class Two unselected graves were also considered to be private graves, restricting burials to related individuals unless express permission had been granted by the burial rights holder for a close friend to be buried in the grave. Purchasers of these graves did so with the view to being able to erect a headstone, but did not see the necessity of paying the extra money to gain control of the choice of the location of the grave other than indicating their religious denomination. These graves were sold in the uniform 9' x 5' size which permitted the burial of two adults or one adult and two children or any combination of related children as seen fit by the sexton. In Brisbane, Class Two burials can be identified from the 1870s onwards by the schedule of grave fees charged by the new cemeteries established to replace the NBBG. Class Two grave purchases in the first two years of operation of the Brisbane General Cemetery (August 1875 – July 1877) outnumbered Class One burials 383 to 121 and comprised 26% of all burials.

Throughout the study period, Class Two burials were the undertakers' core business; more frequent than Class One burials and at times expending more money on the consumption of funerary goods especially towards the end of the study period. Unfortunately, the only funeral order books which have survived for the 1870s are those of William Walsh, an undertaker who often did not keep itemised accounts.

1870s Henry Lee Haden

Henry Lee (Harry) Haden was a well-connected 22-year-old single English man who arrived in the colony around July 1876 (Queensland Death Certificate 1877/B11196). When he died in January 1877 of acute dysentery, the funeral for the Brisbane General Cemetery left from the Bellevue Hotel, across the road from the Queensland Club, the town residence of Haden's friend, the Hon. Henry Stuart Littleton (younger son of the second Lord Hatherton) who was ultimately responsible for the payment for the funeral (Walsh 1877:3). Haden's funeral expenses totalled £12/10/- which included a registered coffin and shroud, a newspaper advertisement and the Class Two grave fee of £2/-/6 (Walsh 1877:3). As no other family members would be buried in the grave, there was no need to purchase a private Class One enclosure. The Hon. H. S. Littleton must not have been aware of the young Haden's father's latest interest, for he was the youngest son of Francis Seymour Haden (later Sir Francis), the London surgeon who was gaining a

reputation for funeral reform and as the inventor of the wicker basket coffin (*Queenslander* 27 May 1876:15). Two years prior to his son's death, Francis Haden had established the Earth to Earth society in which he condemned the widespread use of imperishable wood coffins (Jalland 1996:204) of the type which was used at his son's funeral.

1880s Elizabeth Overland

Elizabeth Hanson Overland, wife of publican Richard Overland and mother of five, died aged 45 at the Clarence Hotel, South Brisbane on the 21st of February 1881. Her funeral, conducted by undertaker William Walsh, incorporated many elements which were rapidly becoming obsolescent in Brisbane in the 1880s. While the use of plumes for the horses and hearse was not yet uncommon, the supply of white gloves for the principal mourners was by then rare. The funeral left the Clarence Hotel at 5pm on the day after the death, probably to facilitate the attendance of a large number of members of the Manchester Unity International Order of Odd Fellows, of which Richard Overland was a past Grand Master (*Brisbane Courier* 22 February 1881:1). Transportation to the nearby South Brisbane Cemetery included two mourning coaches for the family. The funeral cost £12/10/6 (Walsh 1881:10) including the overtime charged by the South Brisbane cemetery trustees for late arrival.

1890s Bridget Brenan also known as Bridget Pope

Thirty-five year old Catholic Bridget Brenan died from the complications of childbirth in September 1895. Her *de facto* husband, blacksmith Robert Pope ordered a £11/10/- funeral from K.M. Smith which included the Class Two grave fee of £1/19/-. Pope ordered a horse and pair with plumes, one mourning coach and a 5' 9" black coffin with gilt and black coffin furniture (Smith 1895:164). He also placed an advertisement in the *Brisbane Courier* inviting his friends to attend the funeral of his 'wife' at the Brisbane General Cemetery (*Brisbane Courier* 4 September 1895:1). This advertisement was immediately followed by one advertising the funeral placed by the United Ancient Order of Druids Acorn Lodge of which Pope was a member. Pope paid the undertaker £5/9/- upfront and then commenced paying by instalments. However, before he had paid the second instalment, his three-month-old daughter Annie Jubilee Pope died of *tabes mesenterica* a childhood wasting disease (Smith 1895:172). Without her mother to nurse her, Annie's chances of survival were severely compromised. Kate Smith noted in the funeral order that the child was illegitimate. This time Pope paid £3 which included the grave reopening fee of 11/6, one mourning coach and a 2' coffin (Smith 1895:172). On the 11th November 1895, Annie

was buried with her mother. Now, with two funerals to pay for, Pope did not finalise his account with K.M. Smith until November 1897.

1900 Joseph Vassallo also known as Joseph Howes

Joseph Vassallo, a married 37 year-old Maltese-born man, was killed in an industrial accident on a wharf under-construction at Pinkenba on Friday, 20 April 1900 (*Brisbane Courier* 21 April 1900:8). A plain black 5' 8" coffin and shroud were despatched by South Brisbane undertaker Sophie Miller to the waiting room of the Pinkenba Railway station, where the corpse had been taken (Miller 1900:176). Instead of the coffin being transported directly to either the deceased's home or Miller's premises, it was directed by a Police Inspector to Fortitude Valley where it was received at the premises of rival undertakers Cannon & Cripps. Here the first coffin and shroud were discarded and the corpse was re-shrouded and placed in a Best Gilt and Black 5' 9" coffin and a well-advertised funeral took place on Sunday afternoon to a private grave at South Brisbane Cemetery (Cannon & Cripps 1900:315). Ordinarily, a labourer would have been buried the day after his death according to the first set of arrangements in a Class Three. However, Joseph Vassallo was not an ordinary dockworker. Under the name Joseph Howes, he had served as an Able-Bodied Seaman in the Brisbane Naval Brigade since 1890 and was accorded a full Naval funeral which left from his home at Greenslopes:

The parade met the funeral cortège at the corner of Ipswich-road and Stanley-street, the escort presenting arms. The parade then took their places and moved off, the Naval Brigade Band, playing Beethoven's "Funeral March" and the escort marching in front of the hearse with reversed arms. On arrival within the South Brisbane Cemetery four members of the Naval Brigade carried the coffin, covered with the Union Jack, to the grave, and after the burial service had been read three volleys were fired, the brigade buglers blowing "The Last Post" (*Brisbane Courier* 24 April 1900:4).

Once Vassallo's other identity had been ascertained, the cost of his funeral more than doubled and the Class Three grave was converted to a Class Two grave. Miller's original bill for £4/10 included 10 shillings for the shroud and 5 shillings for each leg of transportation (Miller 1900:176). Subtracting these brought the cost of the original funeral intended down to £3/10 which was about the average cost of a 'plain' funeral but still twice the cost of a contract paupers' funeral of 15 shillings. The funeral supplied by Cannon & Cripps cost £9/19 which included the coffin, shroud, hearse and pair and two mourning coaches. Adding disbursements for the newspaper advertisements and £1/18 for an unselected private grave (Class Two) at South Brisbane Cemetery, the grand total came to £11/10 (Cannon & Cripps 1900:315). The cost is comparable with a naval funeral provided

by K.M. Smith for another member of the Brisbane Naval Brigade ten weeks earlier. John Channing had died from chronic Bright's disease (nephritis) on the 9th February 1900 and was buried the next day with full naval honours at Brisbane General Cemetery (Smith 1900:21). The coffin supplied in this case was described in the same terms as Vassallo's indicating that there was a minimum standard of coffin for such a public funeral and the convention was observed.

Alfred Edward Harris

Brisbane merchant, Alfred Edward Harris, fathered 14 children by two wives between 1869 and 1890. Eight of these died under the age of two. Cecil Alfred Wheeler Harris died of debility aged four months in September 1874 and was interred in the Anglican Burial Ground, North Brisbane by undertaker George Barney Petrie (Queensland Death Certificate 1874/B8756). The parents gave their next son the same set of names but he died aged seven weeks in September 1875 (*Brisbane Courier* 27 September 1875:2). This Cecil was buried by Petrie's business successor Walter Barrett in a Class Two grave at the Brisbane General Cemetery. Barrett returned twice more to the same grave to inter Percival, aged 13 weeks in March 1877 (*Brisbane Courier* 5 March 1877:2) and the boys' 34 year-old mother Jessie in November the same year (*Brisbane Courier* 29 November 1877:1).

Widowed with three surviving children under the age of eight, Alfred Harris married Fanny Lock in March 1880 (*Brisbane Courier* 16 March 1880:2). Their misfortune was to continue with the death of Ruby in 1881 (*Brisbane Courier* 17 December 1881:4); Charles in 1883 (*Brisbane Courier* 15 October 1883:1); Elsie in 1884 (*Brisbane Courier* 9 October 1884:1); Winifred in 1886 (*Queenslander* 9 January 1886:41) and Dorothy in 1890 (*Queenslander* 6 September 1890:441); the oldest of whom was four months. They were all interred in a grave close to Alfred Harris's first family. The first two were buried by Barrett, the next two by Barrett's business successor W.H. Hancock and the final one by George Sillet who took over the business after Hancock's bankruptcy. Harris showed remarkable loyalty to Petrie's Undertaking Establishment through its various changes of ownership and addresses. Unfortunately, the funeral order books for this firm have not survived, so it is not possible to determine which goods and services Harris purchased. Harris placed multiple death notices in the local newspapers which for so many infants was unusual.

Class Two variation - Frederick Horn

Poorer families frequently buried their younger children without the services of an undertaker. These burials can be identified by the father's (or very occasionally) the mother's named filled in the column of the Brisbane General Cemetery register assigned to the undertaker. One name stood out due to its frequency- that of Frederick Horn.

In similar circumstances to Alfred Harris, Frederick and Sarah Horn suffered the tragedy of losing nine out of their ten children under the age of three between 1880 and 1898. However, this is where the similarity ends. Frederick Horn is notable in that, except for the first burial, he made the funeral arrangements and coffins for his children himself. The first child, named after his father, died aged six weeks from artificial feeding (i.e. given cow's milk) in the Infants Home in April 1880 and was buried by the sexton in a Class Four grave at the Brisbane General Cemetery (Queensland Death Certificate 1880/B13491). Horn must have been motivated by this negative experience because when his ten-month old daughter Hannah died in November 1881 (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1871-1884:D463), he purchased Class Two grave and acted as his own undertaker. In the same grave he would lay seven more babies to rest; James in 1884 (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1871-1884:F479); Walter in 1885 (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1884-1893:H207); William in 1888 (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1884-1893:H671); Lily in 1890; Ernest in 1891; Arthur in 1897; and Emily in 1898 (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1871-1884:G310). The Horn Family lived within walking distance of the Brisbane General Cemetery, so the hire of a mourning coach to transport the tiny coffins was unnecessary. For each interment, Horn was required to pay the grave reopening fee of 10/- , for the cast iron burial marker 3/- and the returfing fee of 2/6 totalling 17/6. However, as a non-contract baby's burial during this period cost around £3/15/- (e.g. K.M. Smith 1885:55), Horn saved his family a significant sum of money on each occasion. None of the deaths were advised in the local newspapers.

Frederick Horn was determined that no more of his children would be buried in the same manner as his first child. In order to do so, Horn reallocated his meagre financial resources and decided to dispense with the services of an undertaker so he could afford to purchase a Class Two grave thereby regaining agency through the control of the burial rights to the grave. Horn's behaviour was influenced by the desire to dissociate himself from the stigma of pauperism and aspire to be a member of the same group as the Harris family (Blythe 2013:218) i.e. Class Two grave owners, which he achieved even if his consumption did not reach the level of Harris.

Jewish

Brisbane's Jewish community followed their own rituals for the preparation of the corpse. With a tradition of rapid burial, preferably before sunset on the day of death, the corpse was prepared in the same centuries-old, highly ritualised method of washing and shrouding, regardless of social class (Elzas 1915:9-16). Relatives were not permitted to perform these sacred duties; members of the congregation would perform the rites for each other (Elzas 1915:17). Once the hearse had reached the cemetery gates, the coffin was carried on a bier to the grave. In May 1881, carpenter and undertaker William Walsh charged the Jewish congregation £2/10/- to construct a folding bier for £1/5/- and to varnish two washing boards and make two trestles for the balance (Walsh 1881:19).

Jewish funerals conducted by K.M. Smith between 1883 and 1887 were on the whole more expensive than average affairs often owing to the number of vehicles which needed to be provided for the transportation of the congregation to witness the burial. For example, when 30 year-old Henry Lewis Barnett was buried in February 1881, William Walsh supplied four mourning coaches and three wagonettes for a funeral which cost £16/18/6 (Walsh 1881:5). There was no expenditure on display items such as plumes, palls and flowers as these were proscribed under Jewish law (Puckle 1926:27).

Morris Samuels

Morris Samuels died suddenly aged 37 at his residence above his Queen Street drapery in November 1886 (Smith 1886:251). Undertaker K.M. Smith provided a 5'10" cedar coffin which was 22" wide and 14" deep. It was unusual for these second measurements to be specified indicating that the coffin was made to measure. As with the Barnett funeral, Smith was required to supply three wagonettes which she had to hire from Dietz and Co. for £3 and two mourning coaches hired from Hislops for £2. Including advertising in the *Brisbane Courier*, the funeral cost the deceased's brother and business partner Joseph Samuels £17/17/- (Smith 1886:251).

Class Three Graves

By purchasing a Class Three grave, the family and friends of the deceased did so on the understanding that a headstone could not be erected and unrelated individuals would be placed in the grave over time if they did not purchase the grave before the next interment and convert it to private use on payment of a fee. An examination of the Brisbane General Cemetery Fee Register (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1875-1891) for 1875 and 1876 of the cemetery's operation shows that children under the age of five comprised 25.7% of all burials in Class Three graves.

For the duration of the study period, the funerary consumption of a Class Three children's funeral remained constant. For between £2 and £3 the child's coffin was conveyed to the cemetery in either a mourning coach or wagonette. It is assumed that these coffins were covered in black material as white material was an additional expense and itemized as such. There were no white coffins ordered for Class Three children's burials in the surviving undertaker's order books.

Class Three adult burials comprised only 8.5% of total burials for 1875 and 1876 (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1875-1891). These funerals generally consisted of a plain black covered coffin, the hearse pulled by a single horse and a wagonette or mourning coach pulled by a single horse conveying the mourners. There were no plumes, advertising or extras such as registered coffin furniture included. These funerals, often referred to as 'plain' by the undertakers, averaged between £4 and £7 in the 1870s and 1880s and £5 to £9 in the 1890s. Typical examples are given below.

1870s William Lyford

William Lyford, an 18 year-old labourer, died at the Brisbane Hospital in June 1877 (*Brisbane Courier* 15 June 1877:2) of injuries received in an industrial accident nearly two weeks earlier when he suffered a compound fracture of the leg (*Telegraph* 2 June 1877:2). Undertaker William Walsh conducted the funeral from the hospital to the Brisbane General Cemetery using his 'little hearse' accompanied by a wagonette for which he charged Lyford's employer Butler Brothers £7 (Walsh 1877:19) including the Class Three grave fee of £1/5/6. There was no advertising of the funeral.

1880s James Martin

Catholic seaman James Valentine Martin was admitted to the Brisbane Hospital in November 1883. He died aged 51 of a spinal disorder on the 8th February 1884 (*Queenslander* 16 February 1884:246). In his will, he had left all of his property to Father Joseph Canali (*Brisbane Courier* 23 February 1884:2). Canali gave the order to undertaker John Smith that the funeral was "to be done cheap" (Smith 1884:34). Smith supplied a plain unlined coffin. There is no record of a hearse being engaged. Unusually, Canali did not conduct the funeral himself, as he had done for several other funerals that month, but arranged for the services of Father Durham for which the estate was charged 7/6. The total cost of the funeral was £6/12/6 which included the Class Three grave fee of £1/6/-. The account was finally paid by Canali in April 1884 after he had received the probate on Martin's estate (Smith 1884:34).

1890s Christopher Murtagh

From time to time, Kate Mary Smith wrote copious notes about the deceased in the margin of her funeral order book. Without these, it is difficult to ascertain the circumstances surrounding a Class Three burial other than a few bald facts which appeared in the newspaper. Christopher Murtagh, a 47-year-old Catholic committed suicide by taking the contents of two boxes of wax match heads dissolved in a glass of beer (*Brisbane Courier* 6 December 1895:4). As he did not die immediately, he was first taken to the watch house where he was charged with the crime of suicide and then taken to the Brisbane Hospital (*Brisbane Courier* 6 December 1895:4). Murtagh stated that his action stemmed from a £5 debt he was due to repay the following morning for which he did not have the money (*Brisbane Courier* 6 December 1895:4). This may have prompted Kate Mary Smith to record "This funeral was done purely as a charity job. The widow having no means to pay. Grave Fees & Coffin only charged" (Smith 1895:176). Without Smith's intervention, Murtagh would have been buried as a pauper in a Class Four hospital contract grave. In instalments, the widow paid £4/10/- comprising the Class Three grave fee of £1/4/- and £3/6/- for the coffin. The funeral was originally charged at £9/10/- which included the hearse, one mourning coach and a 3/6 advertisement in the *Telegraph* (Smith 1895:176).

Class Three variation - Tom Young

Fifty-two year old butcher Tom Young drowned himself in the Brisbane River after returning from a medical appointment at the Brisbane Hospital in March 1900 (*Brisbane Courier* 21 March 1900:6). Despite the circumstances of his death, his funeral was a fine affair. A hearse and pair and a mourning coach and pair conveyed Young and his grieving friends who worked with him at Baynes Brothers Meat Preservation Company to a Class Three grave at the South Brisbane Cemetery (*Brisbane Courier* 21 March 1900:8). Undertaker Sophie Miller's fee of £9 included extras not usually associated with Class Three funerals such as a shroud, advertising and an artificial wreath in a glass case (Miller 1900:172). The funeral was paid for by the deceased's colleagues, his widow apparently not involved in the arrangements.

Chinese

The consumption of ritual Chinese funerary goods is not well described in the undertakers' funeral order books. There are references (e.g. Walsh 1878:74) to payments being made to Way Hop, an Albert Street merchant and importer in the 1870s and 1880s, but the actual purchases remain unknown. Chinese funerals contained an element of ritual feasting at the grave site and facsimile money and incense was burnt (Griffin and Tobin

1997:240-3). In the colonial period, Brisbane did not have its own Chinese language newspaper but interstate advertisements for undertakers appeared in the widely-distributed *Chinese Australian Herald* which was published in Sydney. For example, Jones and Sons of Melbourne placed its first advertisement in the weekly newspaper in August 1895 (*Chinese Australian Herald* 10 August 1895:7). No Chinese language advertisements for Brisbane undertakers have yet been found.

Loong Sang

Loong Sang was a successful businessman whose funeral in March 1879 demonstrated his accumulated wealth. Conducted by William Walsh, the consumption was equivalent to a Class One funeral with expenditure on a coffin mounted with registered furniture, hearse and mourning coach with plumes and newspaper advertising (Walsh 1879:47). If it was not for an amount of 5/- paid to Way Hop (and the deceased's name), this funeral totalling £15 would be indistinguishable from others in Walsh's order book (Walsh 1879:47). Loong Sang was exhumed from the Brisbane General Cemetery in September 1886 and his remains returned to China (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1871 - 1884:B953)

Conclusion

Elizabeth Stone observed in 1858 that:

...funerals afforded an opportunity for display that set the seal on a person's position in the social hierarchy. Too much ostentation on the part of the poor was as abhorrent to the arbiters of respectability as too little on the part of the prosperous. The social nuances by which funeral arrangements were judged provided many traps for the unwary but also opportunities for undertakers with a living to make (Stone 1858:68).

The funeral an individual received was determined by the relative influence exerted by reference groups on the family and friends of the deceased. Occasionally, individualistic consumers, such as Justice Lutwyche, attempted to change the funerary consumption habits of those around him by using his elevated position and leading by example. Despite their uncertain financial future, the orphaned Hayes children gave their mother an equal send-off to that of their father, perhaps to demonstrate their determination to maintain the social position which their parents had worked to achieve. The Harris family conformed to the practices of their social class despite the financial drain that the expense of so many infant funerals would have had on the family's financial resources. The Horn family, although suffering a similar degree of loss, chose to make the funeral arrangements themselves, thus preventing the family from slipping into debt and ensuring that all of their children were buried together.

Robert Pope arranged Class Two funerals for his de facto wife and illegitimate baby daughter lending an air of respectability and legitimacy to their relationship despite these funerals being beyond his financial means. Although Tom Young was married, his widow and family played no part in the arrangement of his funeral; his workmates clubbed together to ensure a fitting send off for an esteemed colleague. The display of funerary consumption was an individual consumer's means of communicating to others the esteem in which they held the deceased. Loong Sang's funeral gave the impression of total assimilation into the predominant culture with his sumptuous funerary display despite burial in a temporary grave. Jewish funerals despite their appearance of simplicity were expensive exercises requiring a degree of logistical organisation for the undertaker engaged. Quality was indeed in the eye, and the pocket, of the beholder. However, with the degree of uniformity across the three undertakers surveyed in 1900, factors other than price would have influenced the consumer's choice of one undertaker over another.

"Comfortable sepulture is one of the chief objects in life of the British proletariat. A decent funeral covers a multitude of sins" (*Brisbane Courier* 29 May 1884:3). An overriding factor which would have increased funerary consumption was the avoidance of being buried on the public purse in a Class Four Grave (Chapter Six). As cemeteries demanded payment for the grave for the burial could occur and with undertakers expecting a fair-sized payment in advance some families had to resort to the charity of those in their friendship groups and the kindness of neighbours to raise the cash. "In one short week death had entered the same household twice, and twenty pounds will hardly cover the expenses of the bereaved husband. He is only a working man in receipt of 30s. per week, so that more than three months' earnings will be absorbed in meeting the demands of the undertaker, and the trustees of the cemetery" (*Telegraph* 4 February 1876:2). Paupers in the United Kingdom regularly lived with corpses in their single room dwelling upward of a week while scraping together enough money to conduct a burial using their own resources instead of relying on the parish (*Sydney Morning Herald* 15 April 1862:8). With Brisbane's climate this was not possible; the expediency required adding to the financial strain.





Chapter Six – Institutional consumers

In the colonial era, a publicly funded funeral and burial in a Class Four grave was a fate which awaited many of Brisbane's citizens. Whereas many poorer citizens endeavoured to avoid that eventuality by subscribing to a burial club as discussed in Chapter Four, others deliberately exploited Brisbane's institutions to dispose of a (potential) corpse on the public purse. Changes in the prevailing economic conditions and population colony-level and the relocation of the main cemetery locally impacted on the ability of Brisbane's institutions to provide burial services at a publicly acceptable standard. In this chapter, the Brisbane Hospital and Brisbane Gaol's treatment of their dead is examined in detail.

At the opposite end of the spectrum of publicly funded funerals were the seven State Funerals conducted between 1871 and 1901. These also come under the banner of institutional funerals as they too were paid for from the public purse. The obsequies of the Honourable Thomas Joseph Byrnes are presented here as being indicative of the funerary consumption generated by one of these events.

The Catholic Church was also a significant institutional consumer of funerary services. Their expenditure on the dead varied greatly on whether the deceased was in their care or in holy orders having taken the vows of chastity, obedience and poverty (Moloney 2001:14-17).

The hospitals

In the earliest days of the colony, the hospital was best avoided and the sick were treated at home where finances allowed. According to numerous reports in the *Brisbane Courier*, accident victims were taken home to die but if there was hope of recovery, the doctor was summoned there. For example, in June 1881, John Melville, the overseer of the Brisbane General Cemetery was seriously injured when the headstone he was helping to unload suddenly slipped off the drey. "Dr Lyons was sent for, and found that the outer plate of the skull had been fractured. Melville lies at his own residence in a rather precarious state" (*Brisbane Courier* 17 June 1881:2).

Such media reportage fuels the impression that in the 19th century most people died at home (Griffin and Tobin 1997:4). The Registrar General of Queensland compiled statistics

on the percentage of Brisbane deaths which occurred in institutions which were published in the local newspapers. The percentages ranged between 19.5% in December 1876 (*Brisbane Courier* 16 January 1877:3) and 30.8% in October 1886 (*Brisbane Courier* 9 November 1886:3) indicating that these institutions were significant consumers of funerary services. This was especially true of Brisbane with its concentration of medical facilities accessed by patients from other parts of the colony. Institutional deaths comprised such a significant proportion of the Brisbane death registrations that the Registrar General felt obliged at regular intervals to declare that Brisbane was a healthier place than the statistics would otherwise suggest due to the number of institutions within the registration district and the volume of patients from other parts of the colony who accessed them. "The exceptionally high rate of the Brisbane district is believed to be in part due to the number of diseased persons who come hither in an incurable condition for the sake of medical relief" (*Queenslander* 15 July 1876:27).

Although the breakdown was not always given, institutional deaths recorded for statistical purposes over the study period include the Brisbane Hospital (incorporating at times the Benevolent Asylum), Lady Bowen Lying-in Hospital, Children's Hospital, Diamantina Orphanage, Immigration Depot, Industrial Home, Brisbane Gaol and from 1900 the Brisbane Plague Hospital. Many of these institutions, for example the Immigration Depot and Industrial Home, only recorded a small number of deaths per year because many of their residents were removed to the Brisbane Hospital when it became obvious that the treatment of their conditions was beyond the resources of the referring institutions. Therefore, these smaller institutions did not have the volume of deaths to warrant tendering for a contract undertaker and their funerals were arranged on an ad hoc basis with a number of undertakers. The institutions considered in this study are summarised in Table 21

Table 21 Brisbane institutions which utilised contract undertakers

Institution	Operating Dates	Location	Receiving cemetery for institution funded burials
Brisbane Hospital and Affiliated Institutions (Benevolent Asylum and Lock Hospital)	1849 - 1867	George Street, North Quay	1859 – 1867 NBBG
	1867 - post 1901	Bowen Bridge Road, Herston	1867 – 1875 NBBG 1875 – 1901 Brisbane General Cemetery, Toowong
Hospital for Sick Children	1878 - 1883	Leichhardt St, Spring Hill	1878 – 1883 Brisbane General Cemetery, Toowong
	1883 - post 1901	Bowen Bridge Road, Herston	1883 – 1901 Brisbane General Cemetery, Toowong
Queensland Lying-In Hospital	1864 - 1867	Leichhardt St, Spring Hill	1864 – 1867 NBBG
Lady Bowen Hospital	1867 – 1889	Ann Street, Brisbane City	1867 - 1875 NBBG 1875 – 1889 Brisbane General Cemetery, Toowong
	1889 - post 1901	Wickham Terrace, Brisbane City	1889 – 1901 Brisbane General Cemetery, Toowong
Brisbane Gaol	1860 - 1883	Petrie Terrace, Brisbane City Fringe	1860 – 1875 NBBG 1875 – 1883 Brisbane General Cemetery, Toowong
	1883 - 1901	Boggo Road, Dutton Park	South Brisbane Cemetery

The Brisbane Hospital had its origins in the hospital which serviced the Moreton Bay Penal Settlement from 1826 until 1842 when the district was thrown open to free settlement. The hospital continued to be funded by the government until it was handed over in 1848 to a committee of gentlemen to be operated as a subscription hospital (Tyrer 1993:1-26). The Brisbane Hospital combined the functions of hospital and benevolent society, and provided outdoor relief (i.e. in their own homes) to the poor. The Workhouse system of the United Kingdom which commenced in 1834, where indoor relief and hospital services were provided to pauper inmates, was not implemented in Brisbane (Higginbotham 2011:14). The Brisbane Hospital's combined functions were funded by public subscription in which subscribers received a proportionate number of tickets which they then passed onto people seeking admission to the hospital as pauper patients. Patients who were not

deemed paupers could also gain admission as pay patients provided they could provide a financial guarantor, usually the referring doctor, who would underwrite the cost of the treatment, and in the case of death, burial (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 27 January 1859). Subscription tickets were also issued to the Police Magistrate as some fines, e.g. drunkenness, levied by the Police Magistrate were paid to the Hospital (Tyrer 1993:88-9). Friendly and fraternal associations such as the Odd Fellows and the Operative Society of Bricklayers purchased admission tickets on behalf of their members (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 23 June 1864). Although subscription income was supplemented by grants from the Government the Committee was frequently short of money. Therefore the Committee was rigorous in the selection of patients for admission avoiding patients who would overly burden their limited resources: women; children; the elderly; and those whose cases were deemed chronic or likely to die shortly after admission. These patients were either redirected to the Dunwich Benevolent Asylum or turned away (*Brisbane Courier* 19 January 1866:2).

Between 1859 and 1866, the combination of Government-sponsored migration schemes (Powell 1967) and a sharply increasing death rate more than quadrupled the amount the hospital expended on burials. The near bankruptcy of the colony in 1866 brought an abrupt end to assisted migration with a dramatic halving of the hospital's mortality rate and burial expenses to a quarter of the previous year's total (*Brisbane Courier* 17 January 1868:3). Reducing expenditure on burials was firmly in the Committee's sights and this impacted on both the tendering process for funeral services and the eligibility to receive a hospital-funded funeral.

Hospital contracts

Brisbane hospitals were responsible for providing funerals for those who had died within their walls and whose relatives and friends either could not be found or were unwilling or unable to pay for the burial. The provision of burial services for each hospital was tendered for annually, with the competition between undertakers driving down the price to the absolute minimum. The lowest or only tender was not necessarily accepted and tenderers for all contracts were required to provide two sureties to the total value of £30 (*Courier* 12 December 1863:5). In 1883, the rules of the Brisbane Hospital were amended to ensure probity. "Contractors for supplying the hospital, their agents, or their sureties, shall not be eligible for seats on the Committee. The seat of any member becoming or being a contractor, agent or surety ... shall be forthwith vacated" (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1883:4).

The Brisbane Hospital was not specific in the minimum standard of the service to be provided other than “the coffins shall be of sound wood, and the hearse of a decent appearance; the tenderer shall conduct the funerals with all dispatch, and in all respects be under the direction of the Resident Surgeon” (*Brisbane Courier* 31 August 1872:5). “With all dispatch”, meant that the tenderer was expected to remove corpses from the hospital either on the day of death or the morning afterwards for deaths which had occurred overnight, which did not always allow enough time for friends and relatives to make their own arrangements. *The Worker* reported in 1900 that friends had arrived at the Brisbane Hospital with a coffin in a hearse which they had paid for themselves only to find that the deceased had been placed in a pauper’s coffin and was *en route* to the Brisbane General Cemetery. A pursuit ensued and the coffins were exchanged on the roadside near the cemetery (*Worker* 17 February 1900:3).

By 1863, due to a population influx, the finances of the Brisbane Hospital were under increasing stress. Therefore it is not surprising that when the tenders for 1864 were received, a new funeral contractor, Anderson and Shepherd, who had submitted the lowest tender, was appointed (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 24 December 1863). William O. Anderson and James Shepherd had been in the undertaking business for less than a month when the contract was awarded to them (*Courier* 2 December 1863:3). Joshua Ebenston, who had held the contract since 1860 was highly dissatisfied with the outcome and complained to the Brisbane Hospital Committee (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 31 December 1863). Anderson and Shepherd had undercut Ebenston by more than 50% by tendering 21 shillings and sixpence per burial. Within two weeks of the contract being awarded, the first complaint against the new contractor was received. The Committee notified the contractors that “if any case was proved against them, where they had buried otherwise than according to the requisition, the contract would be forfeited” (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 14 January 1864).

Before long Anderson and Shepherd were in difficulties again. A minor flood in the Brisbane River in mid-March 1864 caused the Hospital Committee to give the contract funerals back to Ebenston for a fortnight as Anderson and Shepherd’s premises were inundated by the flood (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 24 March 1864). Worse was to come for the business, as the partners went their separate ways in April, and Anderson resumed the contract alone. On the 7th July 1864, the Brisbane Hospital Committee read a letter outlining various deficiencies in the conduct of the contracted undertaker:

Mr Davidson had been informed by a friend of one of the patients, who died in Hospital, that the manner in which the undertaker managed the burials was disgraceful; that the coffin for William Graham was too short; and that when Graham's friend remonstrated with the undertaker he was turned out of the deadhouse by the Wardsman. Reverend Bliss spoke of the state of the coffins, and of the unsatisfactory manner in which the burials were conducted ... it was decided that the Secretary should write to the contractor, and inform him that such complaint were made; if not remedied the contract would be at once cancelled and the bond strictly enforced (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 7 July 1864).

Anderson responded and the Committee found his explanations unsatisfactory. They resolved that they would not pay for the burial of Graham (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 21 July 1864). Anderson, not satisfied by the decision of the committee, appeared before them the following week and presented a less than convincing case concerning his treatment of the Graham's corpse (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 28 July 1864).

In November, Anderson was back before the committee regarding his conduct at another burial. The committee had received a complaint from the Reverend G.G. Danvers over the "painful manner in which the burial of the late John George Greenaway was conducted by the contractor" (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 10 November 1864). The Chief Wardsman was examined and said that the corner of the coffin was warped. Anderson admitted that the coffin was not properly nailed down (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 17 November 1864).

The Brisbane Hospital contract for 1865 was restored to Joshua Ebenston. However, the contract was less lucrative than before with Ebenston tendering 39 shillings per burial, well below his previous rate of 55 shillings (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 15 December 1864). By 1901, the contract burial fee still had not been restored its 1863 level (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1901:14).

In addition to Anderson, the Brisbane Hospital Committee had other issues to deal with in 1864. The population influx had brought a sizeable number of pauper patients with the ratio treated ballooning from 11 pay patients per 77 pauper patients in December 1863 to 11 pay per 131 pauper patients six months later (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 7 Jul 1864). Deaths also climbed sharply from 39 in 1863 to 64 the following year and almost all bodies were buried at the hospital's expense.

Where possible the Committee tried to recoup treatment and burial costs by selling any chattels patients had in their possession at the time of death. For example, the property of William Graham was sold at auction by the Curator of Intestate Estates on the 15th July

1864, consisting of “a quantity of wearing apparel, a chest of carpenter’s tools, a silver watch and a gun” (*Brisbane Courier* 13 July 1864:3). When 26 year-old Joseph Allatt died in the hospital on the 28th October 1863, the 31 shillings found on his body was retained to cover burial expenses but his watch, papers and portfolio were passed on to his friends (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 29 October 1863).

With so many friendless recent arrivals dying at the hospital, it was not always possible for the House Surgeon to ascertain information such as next of kin or religious denomination, if the patient was not in a fit condition to give the information themselves. For example, Richard Cropper had arrived in Brisbane as a first class passenger board the *Light of Age* on the 29th January 1864 (*North Australian* 30 January 1864:2) and died two weeks later (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 11 February 1864). The Committee entered into a protracted dispute with the Immigration Agent over the Cropper’s effects and enquired if they were legally bound to comply with the Agent’s demands (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 31 March 1864). The Committee prevailed and Cropper’s effects, including valuable books, were sold to recoup costs (*Courier* 9 April 1864:1). It was not until September 1864, a complaint reached the committee that Cropper had been buried without any clergy being present (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 29 September 1864). This prompted committee chairman Reverend E. Griffith to move that an amendment be made to the hospital rules:

That in every case of death occurring in this Hospital it shall be the duty of the Wardsman to inform a Minister of the Religious Denomination to which the deceased belong of the event and to give him notice of the hour fixed on for burial (Brisbane Hospital Committee Minutes 29 September 1864).

This duty had been the responsibility of the contracting undertaker, Anderson, who had clearly not performed this duty in addition to his other deficiencies in fulfilling his contract.

The £2/15/- which Alfred Slaughter and Joshua Ebenston received between 1859 and 1863 for each Brisbane Hospital funeral was quite generous considering that a basic adult burial could be performed for at least five shillings less. For example, when George Ness, a 42-year-old farmer died in October 1861 in straitened circumstances, a public appeal was launched for his widow and six children. Among the accounts itemised for payment from the appeal was the account of undertaker Angus Matheson for £2/10/- (*Courier* 30 October 1861:3).

From 1864 the gap between the cost of a contract funeral and a basic funeral widened markedly. By accepting Anderson’s tender of 21/6, the Brisbane Hospital Committee had

the two-fold aim of not only reducing their total expenditure on burials, but also by making the hospital-funded burial so cheap and wretched, more families and friends of deceased patients might be encouraged to take charge of the funeral arrangements themselves. The other institutions followed suit. In 1868, undertaker Joshua Ebenston was contracted by the Lady Bowen Hospital to provide adult funerals for 30 shillings and children's funerals for 17 shillings (*Queenslander* 28 December 1867:5). In 1900, K.M. Smith held the burial contract for the Lady Bowen Hospital charging £3 per adult funeral, and ten shillings for a baby. In both cases the conveyance was a wagonette instead of a hearse. For comparison, in the same year, the cheapest non-contract adult funeral conducted by K.M. Smith was £5/4/- for a 5' 9" coffin and transport in a wagonette to a Class Three grave at the Brisbane General Cemetery. The cheapest baby's funeral was £1/10/- for a 1' 9" coffin and transport in a dogcart (Smith 1900:26).

Contract funerals became less attractive for undertakers after August 1875 when hospital burials were discontinued at the NBBG and commenced at the more distant Brisbane General Cemetery at Toowong. George William Campbell (G.W.C.) Wilson had anticipated this difficulty when tendering for the 1873 contract. Wilson's tender of 35/- per funeral to the present cemetery and 50/- to the new cemetery, was accepted (*Telegraph* 13 December 1872:2). James Hislop deposed at the 1877 select committee appointed to inquire into the Brisbane General Cemetery, that he had the largest portion of the funeral business in Brisbane exclusive of paupers as he did not hold any contracts. He did offer his observation on the conduct of pauper funerals to the new cemetery in that the coffin was always conveyed in a one-horse cart (*QPP* 1877:1198). For the contract undertaker, time equalled money and transporting corpses from the Brisbane Hospital to the new cemetery could no longer be performed at a funereal pace. A complaint about hearses being driven off at high-speed was made to the Committee who sought an explanation from the funeral contractor concerned who promised to "take steps to prevent a recurrence of the conduct complained of" (*Brisbane Courier* 24 August 1875:2).

In order to make any profit from their contracts, the undertakers reduced the number of trips to the cemetery to the absolute minimum and were not specifically required to convey the corpse individually. On more than one occasion complaints were made about multiple coffins in the hearse. Regarding a pauper patient's burial Elizabeth Hill testified to the Brisbane Hospital Committee that "the coffins - there were two - kept knocking against each other and against the sides of the hearse" (*Brisbane Courier* 31 August 1872:5).

In an entry in K.M. Smith's funeral account register for December 1900 the corpses of a stillborn baby and one that lived for 45 minutes (both from the Lady Bowen Hospital) were conveyed to the Brisbane General Cemetery in the boot of the hearse employed for the funeral of 39 year-old barrister Randall MacDonnell (Smith 1900:75). At £17/10, MacDonnell's funeral was slightly more expensive than the average Class One funeral with a polished cedar coffin and silver mountings conveyed in the best hearse with plumes (Smith 1900:75). It is unknown if anyone other than the employees of K.M. Smith were aware of the extra 'passengers' at the MacDonnell funeral; the Lady Bowen Hospital committee was still charged five shillings each for the conveyance of the infants (Smith 1900:75). This was not an isolated case as four other examples appeared in the accounts for K.M. Smith in 1900.

Jalland (2002:215-8) detailed some of the worst cases of the indecent disposal of pauper and institutionalised dead in the southern colonies; common problems being the flimsy nature of coffins, burial in crowded graves at insufficient depth, and lack of clergy to read the burial service. The same appears to have been the case in Brisbane.

Every few weeks we are receiving letters complaining of persons being buried from the Hospital without any funeral rites being performed at the grave. The idea of being "buried like a dog" in the midst of a Christian community is so utterly repulsive to a large majority of people, more especially the poorer sort that they shrink from it with horror. Hospital "pauper" funerals seem to be the only ones where these ceremonies are altogether omitted, and it causes a bitterness of feeling against the Hospital Committee that it would be well to remove (*Brisbane Courier* 3 April 1873:2).

In reply there was a justification of the conduct of funerals by G.W.C. Wilson, the undertaker who held the hospital contract at the time:

The promptness with which an interment has to be made leaves very little time for the undertaker to prepare his own special matters and to arrange for horses and driver being at liberty at the hour convenient to others; besides giving notice to the gravedigger and minister; also, procuring the legal certificates. And the time is very properly curtailed to the utmost with Hospital funerals, for sanitary reasons. Yet a minister of religion always attends for every denomination except the Presbyterians, who will not come to bury strangers, which Hospital patients most frequently are. G.W.C. WILSON (*Brisbane Courier* 4 April 1873:3).

At the fortnightly Brisbane Hospital Committee meeting held on the 11th October 1875 "reference was made to the increased cost of funerals, which at present was at the rate of £300 per annum" (*Brisbane Courier* 12 October 1875:3). The Committee had cause to be concerned. Of the 18 patients dying in the hospital recorded in the fortnightly minutes of the Brisbane Hospital published in the *Brisbane Courier* for the period 1st of August 1875

to 10th October 1875 all but one were buried at the new Brisbane General Cemetery at the Hospital's expense. The total included patients from as far away as Cooktown, 2010 kilometres to the north (*Brisbane Courier* 14 September 1875:2). Committee members may have noticed a sudden increase in hospital-funded burials after the official closing of the nearby NBBG on the 1st of August 1875 and the transfer of burials to the more distant (and therefore more expensive) new cemetery. They had resisted the transfer as long as possible themselves. There was a one month overlap (July 1875) when both the NBBG and the Brisbane General Cemetery were in operation. There were no hospital or pauper burials in that month at the new cemetery, the first hospital burial not occurring there until the 11th August. By the end of October 1875, the Committee realised that their burial expenses would be closer to £500 than the £300 estimated a fortnight earlier and that they would need to make a representation to the Brisbane General Cemetery Trust with a view to reducing the cost of a grave (*Brisbane Courier* 26 October 1875:3).

The parlous state of the Brisbane Hospital's finances was given short shrift by the Trustees of the Brisbane General Cemetery:

Mr McDonnell pleading the poverty of the Hospital asked for a reduction of Fees on burial of Paupers from the Institution ... The Trustees at once took the question into consideration & it was ultimately decided that in consequence of the actual cost of preparing graves in this portion of the cemetery, keeping them in order etc. approached so nearly to the Fees now charged they would not be justified in making any reduction (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust: 2 November 1875).

Hospital and pauper burials comprised a significant amount of the activity at the Brisbane General Cemetery, if not its income. In the first twelve months of the Cemetery's operations from August 1875, from a total of 882 burials, 168 or 19% were from the Brisbane Hospital; which may explain the Cemetery Trustees refusal to reduce the fees. A further 67 burials (7.5%) were for non-institutionalised paupers meaning that the Cemetery was receiving minimal income for over 25% of all burials. The Trustees charged 12/- for a contract adult burial opposed to 20/- for a Class Three grave (Fisher and Shaw 1994:63).

When the Brisbane Hospital dead reached the Brisbane General Cemetery, they were buried in flood-prone Portion 16 originally allocated by the Trustees in November 1874 for the burial of paupers (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust Minutes 25 November 1874). In response to complaints from the Brisbane Hospital a section of the higher elevation Portion 2 was reallocated for this purpose by the Trustees in April 1878. These graves were dug to receive three corpses instead of the usual two. As there was the possibility that the body may be subsequently claimed by family for reburial elsewhere as finances

became available or intelligence of the death reached them; the corpses were buried in separate graves. Even if the hospital contractor brought out two bodies for burial at the same time, they were buried in adjacent graves. These graves were reused twice at 15-year intervals. When exhumations did occur, the corpse was moved either to a private grave within the Brisbane General Cemetery or to another cemetery usually in the town from which the deceased originated. For example, when Frederick Campbell died of apoplexy aged 54 at the Brisbane Hospital in February 1882 he was buried by the contract undertaker in a Class Four grave in Portion 2. When his widow Antoinette Campbell died in September 1892, she was buried in a Class One grave in the elevated and prestigious Portion 14. In March 1893, the remains of Frederick Campbell were exhumed and reinterred with those of his wife (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1884 - 1893).

The number of Brisbane Hospital admissions per annum rose from 247 in 1862 (*Courier* 16 January 1863:2) to 973 in 1866 (*Brisbane Courier* 18 January 1867:2) with a corresponding increase in the number of deaths from 20 to 110. The cost of funerals consequently increased from £41/5/- to £192/3/- despite the Brisbane Hospital Committee reducing the contract funeral amount from £2/15/- in 1862 to £1/19/- in 1865 (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1865 - 1867:6 April 1865).

In 1866, the colony of Queensland entered a period of extreme financial depression resulting in the Government ceasing assisted migration (Evans 2007:85). This sudden reduction in mostly poor, often friendless, recently arrived migrants seeking admission provided some financial relief to the Brisbane Hospital. The Committee observed:

The number of deaths 47 [in 1867] is against 110 in 1866. This marked difference is to be accounted for mainly by the cessation of immigration and the introduction into the hospital of fewer cases in the very last stages of disease, although too many have during the year been just sent in to die (*Brisbane Courier* 17 January 1868:3).

Between the years 1866 and 1867, funeral expenditure reduced from £192/3/- to £47/19/- (*Brisbane Courier* 17 January 1868:3). The Brisbane Hospital Committee had identified another consequence of the prevailing financial conditions; the sudden increase in the number of poor families who could not afford to bury their own dead and turned to the hospital as a form of relief agency. Despite the efforts of the Committee, people 'left for dead' at the Brisbane Hospital was still a major drain on their budget a decade later; "it would appear as if the object of the persons sending the patients had been merely to avoid the expense of the funeral" as the annual funeral bill climbed to £126 (*Brisbane Courier* 12 October 1875:3).

At Separation (1859), the ratio of pauper patients, who were generally in a poorer state of overall health to 'paying' patients admitted to the Brisbane Hospital was 5:1, with a significant number of paying patients defaulting on their guarantees and subsequently being treated as paupers (Tyrer 1993:56-7). By Federation (1901), this ratio had effectively reversed. Even so, 33 of 213 (15%) of funerals were conducted by the contractor totalling £43/13/6 (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1901:19). The following year brought another spike in deaths resulting in 74 of 277 (27%) of burials being consigned to the contractor.

The Brisbane Hospital contractor for the period 1899 to 1901 was George Sillett. It is of interest to note that Sillett handled by far the greatest number of private funerals which departed the Brisbane Hospital. It is conceivable that his presence around the hospital performing his contract obligations made him a familiar figure and gave him greater access to the families of dying patients in order to sell his services. Unfortunately, Sillett's funeral order books have not survived but from Table 22 it is clear that George Sillett was doing very well out of the Brisbane Hospital.

Table 22 Comparative share of undertaking business generated by the Brisbane Hospital (Brisbane Hospital 1899 - 1913 QSA ID2887)

Funerals	1899 <i>n</i>=240	1900 <i>n</i>=213	1901 <i>n</i>=277
Contract – George Sillett	61 (25%)	33 (15%)	74 (27%)
Private – Sillett & Barrett	77 (32%)	78 (37%)	82 (30%)
Cannon & Cripps	40 (17%)	31 (14%)	39 (14%)
K.M. Smith	29 (12%)	33 (15%)	42 (15%)
J. Hislop	22 (9%)	18 (8%)	15 (5%)
S. Miller	2 (1%)	18 (8%)	22 (8%)
Other undertakers	7 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
No undertaker	2 (1%)	2 (1%) (ambulance)	3 (1%)

In contrast, prominent long-established undertaker John Hislop did very little business out of the Brisbane Hospital, indicating that his usual clientele were being treated elsewhere. K.M. Smith actively sought a share of the hospital business. "Special arrangements will be made for private interments from the Hospitals &c." (*Brisbane Courier* 4 June 1886:8).

In 1900, the Brisbane Hospital did not use the contracting undertaker for two deaths resulting from the bubonic plague (Brisbane Hospital 1899 - 1913:1900/131). Ambulances were used to transport the deceased for burial to the especially established cemetery at Gibson Island, an isolated isthmus near the mouth of the Brisbane River. The majority of Brisbane's bubonic plague deaths occurred at the Comslie Plague Hospital (ten kilometres

from Brisbane's business district), with the victims hurriedly buried in lime-filled graves on Gibson Island (another three kilometres further downstream) by the warders of the plague hospital without any form of funeral service other than the reading of the Order for the Burial of the Dead by the superintending doctor (*Brisbane Courier* 17 May 1900:6). This government intervention was intended to reduce the number of people and vehicles which had contact with the corpse of a plague victim. By April 1901, Dr Halford of the Epidemic Board, declared that the burying of the plague dead at Gibson Island was 'inhumane' and that in future "the remains would be coffined by the Board's officers with all possible precautions, and the interment being superintended by them also, but permitted to take place where the relatives wished" (*Brisbane Courier* 11 April 1901:4). However, requests by relatives for the transfer of remains from Gibson Island to other cemeteries were denied (*Brisbane Courier* 13 December 1900:6).

The Sisters of Mercy had planned to open a hospital as early as 1893 in South Brisbane but did not commence operations until 1905 with a temporary private hospital at North Quay eventually opening a public hospital at College Hill in 1911 (Summers 1979:13). Therefore, investigation of their tendering processes for the burial of the Mater Hospital dead is outside the scope of this thesis.

Police contracts

In addition to tendering for hospital work, the undertakers could also tender for the 'Police Contract' which usually entailed the transportation of the corpse from the place of death to the morgue where an autopsy took place, if required. If the corpse was not claimed from the morgue, there was also the provision for a pauper burial in the contract on top of any transportation fees. The Police Department only assumed the liability of burying paupers or the bodies of those found drowned or dead in the bush providing that a coroner's inquest or magisterial inquiry had not been held. If such enquiry had been conducted, the burial fee was transferred to the coroner's department for payment by the Attorney-General. In 1869, in both cases the total expense of burial was not to exceed £2/10/- (QGG 1869 X (42):611). As with the Brisbane Hospital, the Police were also resolved to recoup costs through use of the deceased's possessions. In July 1883, John Smith was paid £2/5/- (Smith 1883:139) from the £4/7/8 found on the corpse of Christian Wermuth who was fished out of the Brisbane River at North Quay (*Brisbane Courier* 2 August 1883:5).

In 1883, undertaker John Smith held the police contract for which he was paid ten shillings for the removal of a corpse to the morgue and received a flat fee of 45 shillings for each burial (Smith 1883:139). The Class Four grave fee at the Brisbane General Cemetery cost Smith either 13/6 (child under eight years) or 17/6 (adult) per burial (Smith 1883:i). Adult coffin shells made at his premises cost Smith 3/- each (J. Smith 1885:10) leaving Smith approximately 20 shillings per adult burial to cover wages and expenses related to the horses. In 1883, Smith received a total of £23/10 for the police contract (Smith 1883:142).

As with the hospital contract, the successful tendered price could be lower than in previous years. In 1900, for the removal service the contract undertaker was paid a flat fee of five shillings with an extra shilling for every mile over a five-mile radius. Unlike the hospital contract, the police contract paid 15 shillings (excluding the cost of a grave) for a funeral regardless of age; significantly less than the hospital contract and the police contract in 1883 (Miller 1900:165). For undertaker Sophie Miller, police contract holder for January to June 1900, a police contract adult funeral must have been extremely basic as her cheapest non-contract adult funeral was £4. Miller's records do not specify the type of coffin used, but it can be assumed that the coffin was not covered in cloth as this extra was specified in other funerals conducted by her. All of Miller's 'Police Contract' funerals were conveyed to South Brisbane Cemetery which charged 13 shillings for a Class Four grave; a shilling cheaper than the equivalent at the Brisbane General Cemetery (Miller 1900:206). This situation much have been particularly galling for the family of William Noyes, who despite living in Frederick Street, overlooking the Brisbane General Cemetery, was buried by Miller in March 1900 at the South Brisbane Cemetery, five kilometres away (Miller 1900:173). The Police Magistrate was also called upon to pay for burial expenses of the destitute for whom all recourse to other providers of charity had failed. For example, the Police Magistrate provided a coffin for the burial of the child of a destitute woman residing at South Brisbane (*Courier* 18 July 1863:6).

Richard Seymour

In colonial Brisbane, drownings in the river which transects the city were common. The burial register of the Brisbane General Cemetery records several instances of "unknown man found drowned" who were buried by the police contract undertaker in a Class Four grave (e.g. Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1884-1893:K191). The case of Richard Seymour differs in that unlike the numerous un-named casualties, Seymour was well known to several socially elevated people, yet no-one could be found who was willing to defray the expense of a funeral.

Seymour was reported bathing in the Brisbane River on a hot summer's day in January 1887 when he drowned (*Brisbane Courier* 2 February 1887:5). His body was quickly brought ashore where life was pronounced extinct and was taken by police contract undertaker working for K.M. Smith to the nearby morgue for which the firm received 5/- (Smith 1887:191). There was no hint that Seymour's death was anything other than an unfortunate accident. The same day the Water Police Magistrate issued the burial order but by the following morning no one had claimed the body, so at 3 p.m. the Smith staff placed it in a coffin, loaded it onto a wagonette along with the corpse of a pauper's baby and drove to the Brisbane General Cemetery (Smith 1887:191). Smith was paid £2/5/- each for the burial of Seymour and the baby (Smith 1887:191). They were not buried in the same grave, the baby placed in a Class Four grave with three other babies who had died the same day and Seymour in a separate Class Four grave.

Although Irish-born 47-year-old Seymour was a poor man, he took particular care with his appearance which granted a degree of respectability noted by the newspaper journalist who reported the scene. "His underclothing was all new, and his shirt had apparently only been worn for a few hours. He had been dressed in an old tweed suit, perfectly clean" (*Brisbane Courier* 2 February 1887:5). Seymour had been well known and respected and the names of some of his previous employers, including Sir Ralph Gore, were mentioned in the newspaper item describing his death. Despite this, Seymour was consigned to an anonymous paupers' grave.

Prison inmates

The prison contract undertaker (who often was the same as the police contractor) had the responsibility of removing the dead, either from natural causes or by execution, from the Brisbane Gaol if they otherwise had not been claimed by their relatives or friends. In 1860, a new gaol was constructed at Petrie Terrace, in close proximity to the NBBG and the gaol dead were presumably buried in the burial ground of their religious denomination or in the Anglican Cemetery which served as the general burial ground. However, the death certificates of some executed prisoners reveal that some were buried in unconsecrated land, possibly in the strip which ran between the Anglican and Presbyterian burial grounds. For example, Rudolph Monberger, hanged for murder in December 1865, was buried by undertaker George Barney Petrie "near the Church of England Cemetery" (Queensland Death Certificate 1865/B2821 Mornberger [sic] Rudolph). The newspaper report of the execution concluded "after hanging the allotted time, the body was cut down and buried in

the usual place" (*Brisbane Courier* 14 December 1865:2) giving the impression that the executed were not usually buried within the fence-line of the consecrated burial ground.

Confusingly, when John Garbutt was hanged in March 1874, his death certificate stated that he was buried by undertaker George Barney Petrie with no minister of religion present in the "Goal [sic] Cemetery" (Queensland Death Certificate 1874/B8347) leading to the speculation that he was buried within the prison walls, as practised at Old Melbourne Gaol (Smith 2011). By Separation, the secondary punishment of corpses of convicted felons by displaying them on gibbets had already been abolished 25 years earlier under the *Act to Abolish the Practice of Hanging the Bodies of Criminals in Chains* (1834, 4&5 Will. IV). The same Act directed that the bodies be buried within the walls of the prison. Documentary evidence would point to this being the case but no physical evidence has been found to support this and the bodies were buried in (and around) the NBBG until 1875, the Brisbane General Cemetery to 1883 and then the South Brisbane Cemetery.

The coffin of Walter Edward Gordon, executed in October 1885, was described as "a plain black shell filled with shavings" (*Brisbane Courier* 27 October 1885:3) indicating little money was expended on it. It is not clear the type of vehicle the contract undertaker used to remove the corpse from the gaol. Even in the same report of the execution of Christopher Pickford in May 1887, the vehicle is described as an "undertaker's van" on the way in and as a hearse on the way out (*Brisbane Courier* 31 May 1887:6).

In 1893 came the execution of murderer George Blantern who distinguished himself by making his own coffin furniture, inscriptions and floral decorations out of cardboard which prison officials allowed to be placed on his coffin prior to removal from the gaol (*Northern Miner* 24 October 1893:2). The colony's newspapers made much of Blantern's handiwork describing it in as much detail as the execution itself (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 24 October 1893:5). The body was lowered directly into the coffin without disturbance to the clothing or removing the white hood placed over the head (*Brisbane Courier* 24 October 1893:3).

The families of those prisoners did have the (rarely exercised) option of paying for the removal of the corpse themselves if they wished to avoid the indignity of a prison burial. For example, when Francis Horrocks was hanged for murder in September 1892, he was buried in his prison uniform in a polished cedar coffin with cedar mountings conveyed by a glass-sided hearse accompanied by one mourning coach (*Telegraph* 26 September 1892:3). The funeral conducted by K.M. Smith, was paid for by Horrocks' father and cost

£11/10/-, about £3 more than the average cost of a funeral conducted by the firm that year and almost three times more than the cost of a Police contract burial (K.M. Smith 1896:46). However, the corpse was still buried in Portion 6B, a low-lying portion of South Brisbane Cemetery allocated for the burial of prisoners.

State funerals

State funerals were accorded individuals of the highest rank in the colony. Some individuals such as Lieutenant-Governor and President of Legislative Council Sir Arthur Palmer refused the offer (QGG 1898 LXIX (80):1) and others such as Justice Alfred Lutwyche were refused the privilege (Chapter Five). In arranging a State Funeral there were a great number of participants to be contacted and organised such as the Defence Force, police and bands in under a day. This feat was nothing new for the Colonial Secretary Office or the undertaker as other State funerals (e.g. Musgrave 1888) had been conducted with similar short notice.

The Honourable Thomas Joseph Byrnes MLA

At the time of his premature death aged of 37 of measles complicated by pneumonia in the night of 27th/28th September 1898, the Honorable T.J. Byrnes was the Prime Minister [Premier], Chief Secretary and Attorney-General of the Colony of Queensland (QGG 1898 LXX (92):1). The State funeral was undertaken by K.M. Smith in a departure from these funerals being conducted by John Hislop. As K.M. Smith had buried Byrnes' mother Anna, in August 1894 (Smith 1894:Q471), R.J. Leeper, the unmarried Byrnes' brother-in-law gave the order for Byrnes to be buried in his mother's grave at the Brisbane General Cemetery (Smith 1898:297).

Byrnes had died at his home *Yeronglea*, at Yeronga and during the day of the 28th September 1898, friends were invited there to view the body (*Northern Miner* 29 September 1898:5). Early the following morning, the staff of K.M. Smith delivered the coffin comprising of an inner coffin of English oak lined with zinc and an outer cedar coffin mounted in silver (Smith 1898:297). The engraved breastplate was inscribed "Thomas Joseph Byrnes. Died 28th September 1898. Aged 37 years. R.I.P." (*Brisbane Courier* 30 September 1898:5). At 7.30am the hearse drawn by four horses and five mourning coaches, each with an extra man left *Yeronglea* for the eight kilometre drive to St Stephen's Catholic Cathedral (Smith 1898:297). All of the horses were fully draped but there is no mention of plumes being used (Smith 1898:297). A requiem mass commenced at 9 a.m. when the coffin entered the Cathedral and was placed on a black-draped

catafalque which was immediately covered in flowers (*Brisbane Courier* 30 September 1898:5). The high altar, front of the choir gallery and pillars of the sanctuary were also draped in black (*Brisbane Courier* 30 September 1898:5). When the mass concluded at 11.30am, the coffin was covered in a Union Jack, transferred to a gun carriage drawn by six horses and the cortège now including of six mourning carriages commenced for the Brisbane General Cemetery taking almost two hours (*Brisbane Courier* 30 September 1898:5). K.M. Smith recorded that there were four bands in the two-mile long cortège (Smith 1898:297) including members of the Police Band, with muffled drums, who added purple plumes to their helmets (*Brisbane Courier* 30 September 1898:5). The cortège, comprising of over 600 vehicles, transported the Colony's great and good as well as members of the numerous organisations and societies Byrnes belonged to or supported (*Charleville Times* 1 October 1898:2).

This morning the demand for vehicles was so great at a very early hour that every cab in the city had been secured, and many persons had the utmost difficulty in obtaining seats in the procession, while a large number desirous of attending were unable to engage conveyances, even at a comparatively early hour yesterday (*Northern Miner* 30 September 1898:3).

Railway timetables were altered to allow mourners from Byrnes' electorate of Warwick (150 kilometres from Brisbane) to attend the funeral (*Brisbane Courier* 29 September 1898:8). For those who were unable to attend the funeral, Benjamin Taylor, of I.X.L. Photographic Studios was able to supply photographs of the funeral procession and the grave within three days of the event "at reasonable prices" (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 1 October 1898:4)

Many of the thousands who had lined the streets to watch the cortège pass wore black crape on their hats or coats and many businesses which had closed for the day, as a mark of respect, covered their windows in black (*Brisbane Courier* 30 September 1898:5). Eight businesses advertised their closures and a further eighteen organisations placed advertisements informing their members where and when to marshal for the funeral and the appropriate emblems of mourning to wear (*Brisbane Courier* 29 September 1898:8).

Byrne's funeral burial generated a considerable amount of consumption, paid for by a combination of private and public purses. The actual funeral cost of the goods and services provided by K.M. Smith is unknown despite the detailed entry in her order book (Smith 1898:297). It is the only one of that year in which no total cost is written, with the only amount recorded being £1/5- for the reopening of the family grave which K.M. Smith would have paid up front (Smith 1898:297). K.M. Smith finalised the order with "Paid by

Queensland Government Cheque” (Smith 1898:297). Attempts to discover the amount of this cheque and others for payments for items such as floral tributes sent to the funeral, through Queensland Treasury Records have been unsuccessful.

The family of T.J. Byrnes showed loyalty to the firm K.M. Smith as the firm had buried his brother Michael Vincent Byrnes in in May 1890 (*Brisbane Courier* 13 May 1890:1) as well as his mother in August 1894 (*Brisbane Courier* 16 August 1894:1). There was probably an expectation that John Hislop would have been appointed undertaker, as for previous State funerals, but the Byrnes family stayed with the firm that had had experience of and very happy with the previous service that they had received.

Religious institutions

In contrast to publicly funded institutional consumers, Brisbane’s religious institutions did not appear to have tendered for burial services but had a tendency to use one undertaker over another. At the same time as the funeral of T.J. Byrnes, someone from K.M. Smith removed the corpse of five-year-old Mary O’Connell from the Children’s Hospital for burial in a Class Four grave at the Brisbane General Cemetery (Smith 1898:297). Mary had been in the care of the Sisters of Mercy at their orphanage at Nudgee, when her chronic gastritis worsened to the point that she was admitted to the hospital (Smith 1898:297). The Sisters of Mercy paid £2 for a 4’ coffin and for the use of a wagonette for the removal (Smith 1898:297). This was more than twice the amount than the 15/- tendered for by the Children’s Hospital contract undertaker S. Miller in 1900 (e.g. Miller 1900:175). It is unknown if a member of the Catholic clergy would have read the burial service over Mary O’Connell’s remains, as they did not routinely attend the burial of Catholic dead from medical institutions. On a previous occasion, “Reverend Father Ahearne explained his absence from the funeral on account of having other duties to perform, and stated that in his church it was not absolutely necessary to read the burial service at the time of interment, but that it might be read afterwards” (*Telegraph* 29 January 1878:3).

Although two consecrated Catholic burial grounds were in operation in Brisbane; North Brisbane from 1843 and Nudgee from 1867, the first six Sisters of Mercy to die in Brisbane were buried in the grounds of All Hallows’ Convent, Ann Street (Connell 2008:8). The Sisters died between 1868 and 1874 of diseases such as tuberculosis and dysentery and by December 1877, their burial ground was linked to an outbreak of disease at the Convent’s school resulting in the death of a student (*Telegraph* 17 December 1877:2). An inspection was made by an *ad hoc* committee of the Local Board of Health who concluded

that although any seepage from the graves into the water tank was not probable, they urged that the remains be exhumed and buried in a "more suitable locality" (*Brisbane Courier* 22 December 1877:6). The remains were exhumed in the early 1880s and reinterred at Nudgee Cemetery in a plot allocated to that Order separate from the laity (Connell 2008:8). The burial in private of those in religious life appears to be confined to the Sisters of Mercy prior to 1875. Catholic Priests and Brothers who died between 1859 and 1901 were buried initially at the Catholic burial ground at North Brisbane and then from 1867 at Nudgee Cemetery segregated by religious order with identical headstones (Gregory 1994:98-9).

The funeral of someone high in the hierarchy of Catholic religious life required the consumption of goods which had been generally discarded by the general community. For example, when Roman Catholic Bishop of Brisbane, James Quinn, died in 1881, black mourning scarves were supplied to the school girls of All Hallows and St Anne's who participated in the funeral procession, which started and ended at St Stephen's Cathedral where he was interred in a vault (*Brisbane Courier* 20 August 1881:5). Similarly, the 600 Catholic school children participating in the funeral procession for Sister of Mercy Catherine Flanagan from St Stephen's Cathedral to Nudgee Cemetery were provided with white mourning scarves tied with either black crape or ribbon (*Brisbane Courier* 5 July 1879:5). White mourning scarves were used for the burial of unmarried women and children (e.g. Snowball 1896b). The Mother Superior of All Hallows paid £10 for the funeral of 34 year-old nun Catherine Norris (Sister Mary Assiommo) who was buried in the Convent's portion of Nudgee Cemetery on Good Friday 1900 (Smith 1900:31). The brass mounted polished cedar coffin was about a pound more expensive than the average provided that year by undertaker K.M. Smith who according to company procedure waived their professional fees (Smith 1900:31).

John Michael Cummins

The most expensive funeral conducted by K.M. Smith in 1887 was the £28 paid by the Catholic Church for the burial of 34 year old consumptive priest John Michael Cummins (Smith 1887:91). This funeral order is unusual in that it is itemised and the external tradesmen which K.M. Smith engaged are named. In the morning of the 3rd October 1887, Cummins died at the residence of prominent Catholic layman P.W. Crowe at New Farm (*Brisbane Courier* 3 October 1887:4). At 5pm the same day K.M. Smith delivered a 6' 9" polished cedar coffin with brass handles to New Farm and then transferred the corpse to St Stephen's Cathedral where it lay overnight (Smith 1887:91). The coffin was

made by joiner and cabinetmaker Thomas Coombs for £2/15/- and Robert Caper engraved the brass breastplate for 10/- (Smith 1887:91). K.M. Smith engaged professional hairdresser David Closs for 10/- (Smith 1887:91) possibly indicating that the coffin may have been open during the overnight vigil at St Stephens. Incidental expenses were disinfecting fluid 10/-, cab hire 6/- and funeral advertisements in the *Brisbane Courier, Observer* and *Telegraph* totalling 15/- (Smith 1887:91). Cummins' funeral departed from St Stephen's Cathedral at 11am the next day for the Nudgee Catholic Cemetery where Mr O'Doherty was paid £1 for the digging and preparation of the grave (Smith 1887:91). As the funeral required four mourning coaches, two coaches and two pairs of head plumes were hired from J.&J. Hislop (Smith 1887:91).

The Catholic Church did not publicly tender for burial services but made an agreement with the undertaker of their choice to arrange funerals at an agreed fixed price for those in religious orders or under the care of the Catholic Church. Relating some history of the Brisbane funeral industry while debating the *Funeral Benefits Business Bill* (1982), the Member for Archerfield, Kevin Hooper stated:

It is well known that there was a tacit agreement among undertakers. K.M. Smith was widely regarded as the Catholic funeral director, although that firm buried persons of other denominations. Cannon & Cripps handled the majority of Anglican and Masonic funerals. Alex Gow handled funerals for the Non-conformist Church; the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Baptists and what have you. John Hislop handled Jewish funerals. The others were a matter of choice for the individual (Queensland Parliament 1982:2402).

The original source of this statement has not been located but as it names Alex Gow as one of the firms, it must date from after 1909 (*Brisbane Courier* 10 March 1909:1). It is possible to test if there was a preference by members of a particular religion for a certain undertaker for Class One to Class Three graves in 1900. Class Four graves are not considered as the bereaved had no choice of contract undertaker.

Table 23 Class One to Class Three funerals by religion in 1900

	Anglican	Catholic	Other Non-conformists	Jewish	Chinese	Not Stated	Total
Cannon & Cripps	102 (48%)	37 (18%)	66 (31%)	0	2	3	210
K.M. Smith	55 (18%)	184 (60%)	67 (21%)	0	1	2	309
S. Miller	79 (59%)	21 (15%)	35 (25%)	0	1	1	138

Table 23 shows that by 1900 the preference for one undertaker over another by religious affiliation was pronounced. For example, in 1900 K.M. Smith conducted no Jewish funerals however the firm conducted 17 Jewish funerals between 1883 and 1887. After this time Jewish funerals were indeed handled by John Hislop (e.g. Amalie Lenneberg *Brisbane Courier* 7 September 1896:1).

Table 24 Breakdown of Class One to Class Three funerals by religion conducted by John Smith in 1885 (extracted from K.M. Smith 1885)

Anglican	Catholic	Other Non-conformists	Jewish	Chinese	Not Stated	Total
142 (33%)	106 (24%)	169 (39%)	5 (1%)	3	2	429

Prior to the death of Anglican and Freemason (Shanley c.2010:3) John Smith in 1886 the religious breakdown of the funerals conducted by his firm was very different with Non-Conformists outnumbering both Anglican and Catholic burials (Table 24). However, this was before Alfred Cannon and Joseph Cripps, a Methodist Elder (*Brisbane Courier* 18 January 1918:9) entered the industry in 1887 garnering a significant portion of the Non-Conformist market. After Smith's death, the proportion of Catholic funerals began to rise as Smith's widow, the Catholic Kate Mary Smith ran the business with her Catholic-raised children and was a prominent supporter of Catholic institutions and activities (Shanley c.2010:3-5). Therefore, Kate Smith was a member of several of the same secondary reference groups as her potential clientele (Blythe 2013:213) and would have benefitted from increased word of mouth promotion. Kate Smith's change of social status from wife of an Anglican to a Catholic widow may also have had the effect of bringing her into the same category as many of her clients, widowhood, and with the shared experience of losing a husband she may have been perceived as being more empathetic to her clients' needs (Blythe 2013:219).

Conclusion

The provision of burial services in the Brisbane Hospital and Brisbane Gaol were similar in that annual tenders were called for the expedient removal of the corpse from the institution in a cheaply-made coffin for burial in a public grave in a municipal cemetery. In this regard, these institution funerals did not differ much from the burial of the poor who had died in their own homes and at the commencement of the study period the cost of a contract funeral was higher than those of the non-institutionalised poor. However, reduction in the expenditure on publicly-funded funerals coincided with a hardening in attitude with the 'unfortunate' poor, victims of circumstances beyond their control, becoming the 'undeserving' poor who could change their circumstances if they made the effort to do so (Evans 1969:15). The cost gap between an individual institutional burial and the cheapest privately funded funeral widened over the study period with the aim of encouraging family and friends to take responsibility for their own dead. The medicalisation of death towards the end of the study period (Jalland 2002:203) meant that patients from a wider range of financial backgrounds sought treatment at the Brisbane Hospital, and the percentage of hospital funded funerals fell. Even so, the Brisbane Hospital and its affiliated institutions remained a significant consumer of funeral services at the end of the 19th century.

The funerary consumption expended on the dead by the Catholic Church varied considerably depending on the comparative social status between the deceased and the Church. Those in the care of the Catholic Church were generally low status individuals such as orphans (Gregory 1994:95-6) and the amount expended on their burials was small compared to the relatively expensive funerals of those in Holy Orders despite their vow of poverty. The expenditure by the Church on male clergy was routinely double that spent on female nuns and this represented the greatest sex bias in all the institutional and individual consumption examined. Significant amounts were expended on the display elements of the funeral e.g. the mourning scarves provided to the children attending Catholic schools in order for them to join the cortège. The consumption of plumes at these funerals with their heraldic origins denoting the social rank of the deceased (Puckle 1926:109) although incongruous was commonplace.





Chapter Seven – Intermediary consumers

The top-hatted undertaker financially exploiting the veiled widow is one of the enduring images of Victorian era Britain. Despite being reviled in the writings of Dickens (e.g. 1852) and others, the undertaker performed a vital societal function. Although there was no aspect of a colonial-era burial which legally required the services of an undertaker, the ability to hire a competent individual to negotiate and transact on behalf of the bereaved with a number of trades from carpenters to stationers in a short period of time was extremely useful. These mediating individuals operated in an industry which featured long hours and at times unpleasant duties. Financial returns were not always guaranteed with slim margins, numerous bad-debts and frequent bankruptcies. Fierce competition kept prices stable for decades but new competition was unwelcome, with established undertakers colluding to drive out the new arrivals. All of the above mentioned challenges to the success of his business were recorded by undertaker John Smith in his diary in 1885 (J. Smith 1885:2-18).

Brisbane's undertakers were also consumers of goods and services through the purchases they made from manufacturers either directly, or through wholesalers on behalf of their clients, for the provision of funerals; to the expenditure on fixed and moveable assets required for the operation of their businesses.

Brisbane's colonial undertakers

In the early colonial period, in Brisbane as in the other colonies, coffins were constructed and funerals were conducted by cabinet makers or upholsterers as a sideline to their main business. With the exception of colony-born George Barney Petrie, Brisbane's undertakers prior to 1901 were born in the United Kingdom (Nolan 2009) and as such, would have brought with them the skills and cultural norms of their home country. Scots-born Andrew Petrie, sent to superintend Crown building and construction at the Moreton Bay colony, arrived in Australia in 1837 (Dornan and Cryle 1991:27). At that time, the penal colony was being dismantled and Moreton Bay opened for free settlement in 1842. Andrew Petrie who remained in Brisbane after the closure of the penal colony, commenced his own construction business in Queen Street, the major thoroughfare. Petrie's Undertaking Establishment is believed to have commenced in 1840 (Nolan 2009:xiii) when John Petrie,

the eldest son, was eighteen years old. Interestingly, a number of Brisbane funeral firms trace their origins to this company quoting this establishment date (e.g. W.H. Hancock & Co. (*Brisbane Courier* 20 December 1887:2)). John Petrie took over the business in 1848 which incorporated construction and monumental masonry as well as undertaking after his father went blind (Nolan 2009:4). George Barney Petrie the youngest son took up the carpentry side of the business and took over the undertaking business from his now politically active brother John by 1863 (*Courier* 6 February 1863:3).

Another Petrie son, Thomas referred to the family's undertaking business in his reminisces confirming that the carpenters' shop at Petrie Bight was used for the construction of coffins (Petrie 1904:312). However, the Petrie family did not have the monopoly on coffin making or undertaking.

It is well known that Mr. Petrie undertakes the conduct of those melancholy ceremonies, when committed to his charge; I believe that others also in this town do the same. A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND (*Moreton Bay Courier* 12 February 1848:2).

By the mid-1850s, Petrie's undertaking establishment had competition in the form of store keeper, importer and commercial agent Alfred Slaughter. After bankruptcy in 1851, Slaughter reinvented himself as an undertaker and was advertising as such by 1853 (*Moreton Bay Courier* 7 May 1853:3). His employee, Joshua Ebenston took over the business and was advertising as an undertaker, cabinet-maker and turner of Albert Street, Brisbane in 1861 (*Moreton Bay Courier* 12 July 1861:4). Pugh's Almanac of 1859 features advertisements for two more cabinetmakers William Pauley and Joseph Burry (Pugh 1859: adverts 24 and 27). Burry conducted funerals for a short period, taking over Slaughter's business in 1860 before the arrival of Ebenston (Nolan 2009:7).

Undertaking was not an easy business and bad debts were common. In January 1862, Ebenston successfully sued the executor of an estate for the non-payment of £8 (*Courier* 14 January 1862:2). A few months later, Ebenston dissolved his partnership with J.M. Shimmin and continued in the undertaking business alone (*Courier* 25 September 1862:1). He successfully tendered against the Petries for the Brisbane Hospital burial contract (*Courier* 12 December 1862:2). Although this work was constant, it was not well remunerated as is described in Chapter Six. This may be one motivation behind Ebenston's expansion into the furniture business. His advertisements in 1864 refer to his Funeral Establishment and Furniture Warehouse at the corner of Queen and Albert Streets where the cabinetmaking department contained every variety of household furniture

(*Courier* 11 February 1864:1). The following year, Ebenston opened a Furnishing and Upholstery Warehouse in Queen Street and the public were advised that funerals could be arranged day and night from both establishments (*Brisbane Courier* 9 August 1865:1). The business expanded further when Ebenston opened a branch undertaker's office in the rapidly expanding and densely populated suburb of Fortitude Valley (*Brisbane Courier* 30 January 1866:1).

Venetian blind manufacturers William O. Anderson and James Shepherd expanded into the undertaking business in December 1863 and shortly afterwards won the hospital contract from Ebenston (*Courier* 2 December 1863:3). After losing the hospital contract after one year for misconduct (Chapter Six), Anderson conducted a number of private funerals in 1865 before having his furniture, horse and cart sold by the bailiff for the non-payment of rent (*Brisbane Courier* 29 September 1866:8).

New competitors and the economic downturn which beleaguered Queensland in the mid-1860s nearly claimed Ebenston's businesses in March 1867. The Trustees assigned to the estate allowed for the option of the businesses being sold together or separately but a buyer was not found (*Brisbane Courier* 16 March 1867:7). Ebenston continued to carry on the undertaking business at the "lowest possible rates" and closed the Fortitude Valley branch (*Brisbane Courier* 26 March 1867:1). Ebenston's businesses were again in trouble in June 1870 (*Brisbane Courier* 8 June 1870:2). By August, he was required to vacate his Queen Street furniture premises but continued as an undertaker (*Brisbane Courier* 10 August 1870:1). He stopped conducting funerals in Brisbane around February 1872 and sometime afterwards was admitted to the Woogaroo Asylum where he died in January 1877 (*Telegraph* 20 January 1877:2).

John Hislop, had been in Ebenston's employ as a cabinetmaker for at least four years, set up his own business as a cabinet maker, upholsterer and undertaker in Queen Street (*Brisbane Courier* 3 August 1869:1). With his brother James, the Hislops had a successful career as prize-winning furniture manufacturers (Fahy *et al.* 1985:87). John and James Hislop had a major falling out and established competing undertaking establishments (*Brisbane Courier* 23 November 1888:1). To add to the confusion, James brought his son John into the business. There were now two John Hislops (uncle and nephew) operating rival firms (*Brisbane Courier* 8 June 1889:9). This created the need for multiple advertisements to be placed by both firms (*Brisbane Courier* 8 June 1889:9). Eventually James Hislop sold his undertaking plant to competitor K.M. Smith (*Brisbane Courier* 27

July 1891:1) and his brother John's undertaking business became one of the most successful in Brisbane garnering the lion's share of Class One funerals.

Another Queen Street cabinet maker and upholsterer, Francis Murray extended his business to include undertaking. Murray had bought a "splendid new hearse" and the requisite paraphernalia and was prepared to undercut his rivals, Petrie and Ebenston, by 50 per cent (*Brisbane Courier* 10 March 1866:2). A price war then developed between himself and Ebenston. In addition to a foray into local politics culminating in his election as Mayor of Brisbane in 1871, Murray continued in both the undertaking and cabinet making trades until his untimely death in August 1872. His funeral procession from St Stephens Catholic Cathedral to the North Brisbane Burial Ground was conducted by George Barney Petrie (*Brisbane Courier* 11 August 1872:1).

Murray's stock-in-trade was auctioned soon after his funeral and his furniture and undertaking plant was bought by his manager G.W.C. Wilson (*Brisbane Courier* 31 August 1872:1). Wilson did not stay in the undertaking/furniture business long and sold the funerary plant to the Co-operative Funeral Company (*Brisbane Courier* 1 March 1876:1). The Co-operative Funeral Company was the first Brisbane undertaking firm which did not operate in conjunction with a carpentry or cabinetmaking business. Initially under the proprietorship of William Hoy with William Walsh as manager, the firm was under Walsh's sole management by February 1877 (*Brisbane Courier* 2 February 1877:1). Walsh became a significant player in Brisbane's undertaking trade (Nolan 2009:12).

Petrie's Undertaking Establishment was still in operation through the 1860s and early 1870s; however George Barney Petrie, who was prone to epileptic fits and in failing health, put the business up for sale in May 1875, when it was purchased by Walter Barrett. Barrett started conducting funerals under his own banner the following month (*Brisbane Courier* 8 June 1875:1). In February 1878, Barrett purchased a six and a half perches block at 550 Queen Street which was to become the location of a succession of undertaking firms, with coffins made on site (Nolan 2009:15). They operated through the 1870s as undertaker only firms until Walsh sold his share to cabinet maker, John Smith (*Brisbane Courier* 19 February 1883:1). Smith carried on the business until his premature death in May 1886 (*Brisbane Courier* 20 May 1886:1). The business was then continued by his widow, Kate Mary Smith under the name K.M. Smith with John Howe as manager until her son John Smith (Junior) was old enough to assume responsibility. However, there was another John Smith in the undertaking business in the early 1890s, causing a degree of confusion. John

Smith in partnership with Joel Wilde established “Jno Smith & Co.” by April 1890 (*Brisbane Courier* 21 April 1890:1). The following year, Kate Mary Smith advertised that she had no connection with the firm called “Smith & Co.” trading in George Street and that her son John would personally conduct each funeral (*Brisbane Courier* 27 July 1891:1). The competition would not last for long as Smith & Co. had their undertaking plant seized for the non-payment of rent (*Brisbane Courier* 15 October 1891:8).

Barrett in turn sold out to partners William Henry Hancock and carpenter John Corbett in late May 1884 (*Brisbane Courier* 29 May 1884:1). W.H. Hancock and Co.’s entry in *Aldine History of Queensland* shows that the firm was operating as more than just an undertaking establishment (Morrison 1888:212). However it is not clear from the entry if coffin furniture was being manufactured on site as part of the “every description of ... funeral requisite”:

W.H. HANCOCK AND CO., Manufacturers, Furniture Dealers, and Undertakers...
The business has very much increased of late years, and every department mentioned has been considerably extended. For the more convenient carrying on of the business a branch has been opened in Stanley-street, South Brisbane. Every description of furniture and funeral requisites are manufactured and a large staff of hands kept constantly employed. Its [sic] reflects great credit on the proprietor that the business has been so conducted as to be fully abreast of the other industries of the colony (Morrison 1888:212).

In 1887, the three major undertaking firms became four with the establishment of Cannon & Cripps. Brothers-in-law Alfred Cannon and Joseph Cripps had a number of partners in the early days of the firm (Nolan 2009:34). Hancock’s undertaking business at Petrie Bight changed hands after his bankruptcy and eventually came under the ownership of his former manager George Sillett. In 1891 Sillett went into a short-lived partnership with cabinetmaker and upholsterer Alma Adlington which ended with Adlington’s death in May of that year (Nolan 2009:42). Sillett then formed a partnership with Walter Scott Barrett, the son of the former owner, in November 1893 (*Brisbane Courier* 27 November 1893:1). The firm continued as Sillett & Barrett until Sillett’s death in 1908. By this time the firm had already taken on a third partner, Alexander Gow who purchased the remaining shares in 1909.

Kate Mary Smith was not the only female undertaker in Brisbane. By February 1890, John Kenny and Heinrich Dietz were in a partnership (*Brisbane Courier* 18 February 1890:1). After numerous changes of partners the firm passed to Dietz and his new partner Francis O’Rourke. O’Rourke died intestate in December 1896 (*Brisbane Courier* 23 December 1896:7) so his widow Rose O’Rourke continued the partnership with Dietz under the name Dietz and Co. In March 1899, Dietz and Rose O’Rourke mutually dissolved their

partnership and she carried on the business alone trading as “Mrs O’Rourke, undertaker and embalmer” (*Brisbane Courier* 22 March 1899:10). Running an undertaking firm alone with three small children may have been too much for Rose O’Rourke because within six months, she sold the firm to Sophie Miller (*Brisbane Courier* 31 August 1899:1). Trading under the name S. Miller, there was some confusion in the business column of the *Brisbane Courier* with the firm being described as being taken over by a Mr. S. Miller as “the business which recently passed into that gentleman’s hands has shown a marked improvement since the change of proprietary” (*Brisbane Courier* 16 September 1899:6). Table 25 shows the operating ranges of Brisbane’s firms derived from newspaper and directory advertising.

Table 25 Brisbane’s undertaking establishments grouped by continuity

Operational styling	Advertised from	Advertised to
Major Operators		
Alex Gow		
John Petrie / George Barney Petrie	1840	12 May 1875
Walter Barrett (late G.B. Petrie)	8 June 1875	9 June 1884
Petrie’s Undertaking Establishment	10 June 1875	22 Aug 1889
Hancock and Corbett (Successors to Walter Barrett)	28 May 1884	22 January 1885
W.H. Hancock and Co. (Successors to Walter Barrett)	30 January 1885	14 February 1889
Brisbane Undertaking Company W.H. Hancock - Manager	20 December 1889	9 January 1890
Petrie’s Bight Undertaking Establishment	9 January 1890	31 December 1890
Alma Adlington	22 December 1890	11 March 1891
Sillett & Adlington	27 March 1891	1895
Sillett & Barrett	1 January 1896	27 February 1909
Alex Gow (late Sillett and Barrett)	10 March 1909	2015 (still trading)

Operational styling	Advertised from	Advertised to
John Hislop		
Alfred Slaughter	1854	15 December 1859
Joseph Burry	17 December 1859	1 January 1860
Joshua Ebenston	13 April 1861	27 October 1871
Ebenston and Shimmin	3 January 1862	25 September 1862
J. Hislop	7 August 1869	6 December 1877
J.&J. Hislop	28 December 1877	10 December 1888
John Hislop (Successor to J.&J. Hislop)	19 February 1890	6 March 1890
James and John Hislop	9 March 1889	10 May 1890
John Hislop and Sons	9 January 1892	2015 (still trading in conjunction with George Hartnett)
K.M. Smith		
Francis Murray	5 March 1866	7 August 1872
G.W.C. Wilson (late F. Murray)	10 September 1872	15 December 1875
Co-operative Funeral Company (William Hoy manager)	1 March 1876	2 February 1877
William Walsh (successor to G.W.C. Wilson)	4 May 1877	24 February 1883
John Smith (successor to W. Walsh)	8 March 1883	18 May 1886
Smith Undertakers	21 May 1886	1 June 1886
K.M. Smith Undertaker	5 July 1886	2015 (still trading)
Cannon & Cripps		
Bell, Cannon & Cripps	7 December 1886	14 January 1887
Cannon, Cripps & Dietz	23 July 1887	5 October 1888
Cannon & Cripps	15 January 1889	2015 (still trading in conjunction with George Hartnett)
A.E. Atkins		
Kenny and Dietz	18 February 1890	9 December 1892
Kenny, Dietz and Hastie	4 April 1893	31 January 1898
Kenny and Dietz	9 February 1898	7 June 1898
John Kenny & Co.	9 August 1898	23 November 1898
H. Dietz & Co.	25 June 1898	11 January 1899
Mrs R. O'Rourke (late Dietz & Co.)	7 April 1899	12 August 1899
S. Miller (late Dietz & O'Rourke)	26 August 1899	8 March 1904
A.E. Atkins	8 March 1904	9 September 1907 (firm liquidated)

Operational styling	Advertised from	Advertised to
Minor Operators		
Angus Mathieson	7 October 1861	24 April 1862
J. G. Gerlee	25 April 1862	6 September 1862
Anderson and Shepherd	4 December 1863	April 1864
W. O. Anderson	April 1864	29 March 1866
Oswould Hitchcock	1865	1 February 1871
J. Bowerman and Co.	7 April 1885	August 1885
Meggitt, Enoch	25 March 1889	30 May 1889 (declared insolvent)
Meggitt, Arthur James	20 June 1889	24 December 1890
Jno. Smith & Co.	21 Apr 1890	18 Jul 1891
Smith & Co.	27 Jul 1891	12 December 1891
Queensland Undertaking Company	10 January 1899	19 June 1900

Undertakers' status

In contrast to the contempt in which the undertakers of the United Kingdom were generally held by the public and popular press alike (e.g. Dickens 1852), their counterparts in Brisbane were generally held in high social regard. Some short-lived players, who entered the industry presumably in pursuit of quick profits, did occasionally bring the industry into disrepute, particularly in connection with contract burials (See Chapter Six). However, members of the long established firms were at the centre of Brisbane society. Two, John Petrie (*Queenslander* 17 December 1892:1184) and Francis Murray (*Brisbane Courier* 19 August 1872:2) were elected for multiple terms on the Brisbane Municipal Council and both served as Mayor of Brisbane while still actively involved in the undertaking industry. After Walter Barrett semi-retired from his firm, he successfully contested the Mayoralty of the nearby municipality of Sandgate (*Brisbane Courier* 12 December 1907:4). John Petrie also held multiple appointments such as the Chair of the Board of Waterworks, Chair of the Relief Board, Chair of the Brisbane Hospital Committee and for many years was a member of the Brisbane Licensing Board (*Queenslander* 17 December 1892:1184).

Many were members of fraternal and friendly societies. For example John Smith was both a Freemason and a member of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows

(Shanley c.2010:3). William Hancock, Alex Gow and George Sillett belonged to the Grand United Order of Oddfellows (Nolan 2009:29-69). Brothers-in-law Alfred Cannon and Joseph Cripps were members of the Protestant Alliance Friendly Society of Australia and the Loyal Orange Lodge (*Brisbane Courier* 18 January 1918:9). Joseph Miller, husband of undertaker Sophie Miller was the Secretary of the Ancient Order of Foresters (*Brisbane Courier* 25 May 1901:2) a role which had been held previously by Francis Murray (*Brisbane Courier* 19 August 1872:2). Murray was also heavily involved in the Hibernian Society (*Brisbane Courier* 19 August 1872:2).

Undertakers filled prominent roles in their respective churches. Alfred Cannon and Joseph Cripps were elders in the Methodist Church (*Brisbane Courier* 18 January 1918:9). The Petrie and Gow families were staunch Presbyterians (Nolan 2009:14-29). Francis Murray, Alma Adlington and Kate Mary Smith were committed Catholics with Kate also a generous financial supporter of various Catholic charities (Shanley c.2010:3-5). John Smith, Kate's husband, was an adherent of the Church of England as was the Barrett family and George Sillett (Nolan 2009:29-69).

Membership of Brisbane's earliest cricket clubs was an invitation only affair and Saturday match days excluded most unskilled labourers who were at work that day, as did the cost of the equipment (Lawson 1973:201). Players were drawn from upper and lower middle classes and upper working classes such as white collar workers. Cricket was especially popular amongst the undertakers with a match organised on the annual Undertaker's Picnic Day held on the Queen's Birthday Holiday (Maclean 2012:67-8). George Barney Petrie was a stalwart of the Victoria Cricket Club (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 22 June 1878:2) playing against rival undertaker Oswald Hitchcock, the captain of the Bowen Hills Cricket Club (*Telegraph* 11 February 1878:2). Walter Barrett enjoyed competitive sailing from his seaside home at Sandgate (*Brisbane Courier* 12 December 1907:4).

Membership of these civic, social, religious and sporting groups integrated the undertakers into the upper echelons of the community they served as well as expanding their potential business contacts. When Francis Murray died in 1872, the editor of the *Brisbane Courier* noted:

Alderman Murray had by his enterprising, energetic character and his good business qualities, raised himself to a prominent position in this city, and bore the reputation of a good employer, and a public-spirited citizen (*Brisbane Courier* 19 August 1872:2).

Murray, like most of his undertaking contemporaries, commenced his working life as a cabinet maker and upholsterer. It is these skilled tradesmen who established the firms which would be passed down through the generations (e.g. K. M. Smith and Hislop) or taken over by others (see Table 25).

Establishing the business

A significant amount of capital would be required to establish and maintain an undertaking firm, especially if the plant was newly purchased. There is no direct evidence from 19th century Brisbane but some circumstantial evidence of the financial outlay required does exist. In January 1877, fire destroyed the shop of undertaker Frederick Ransley at Maryborough (250 km north of Brisbane) (*Telegraph* 25 January 1877:3). At the coronial inquest into the fire, Ransley gave in evidence that:

my plant consisted of a mourning coach, valued at £80; hearse, £80; harness, £30; plumes - real ostrich £120; cloths, velvet and trimmings &c. £65 to £70 ... thirty or forty coffins in a rough state at 12s. each (*Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* 16 January 1877:2).

In 1899, a profitable undertaking and furniture business complete with plant in “a leading Northern town” was available for purchase for £800 (*Brisbane Courier* 21 June 1899:2). In the same week a firm was advertised for sale in a “large Northern Town” boasting profits of £300 per annum with “easy ingoings” (*Brisbane Courier* 24 June 1899:2). The following month, an undertaking and furniture business in “an important mining town” was for sale yielding £7 profit per week which “could be considerably increased by energetic person” (*Brisbane Courier* 22 July 1899:3). It is not known if this is the same firm being advertised in different ways to make it more attractive to potential purchasers. In 1898, a package consisting of a first-class hearse, harness and plumes “fit for a city undertaker” was offered for £150 (*Australian Town and Country Journal* 22 January 1898:7).

In January 1899, there was an attempt to float a publically-subscribed undertaking and embalming company. The Directors of the Queensland Undertaking Company considered that “first-rate working plant can be secured for £1000” and planned to raise £2000 in working capital (*Brisbane Courier* 14 January 1899:2). As none of the directors are known to have a background in the Brisbane undertaking industry, it is assumed that the venture was floated for purely commercial reasons. However, the venture was not successful and the company was liquidated in June 1900 (*Morning Bulletin* 13 June 1900:1). The plant advertised for sale included a hearse, two mourning coaches, a wagon, the associated harness, furniture and unspecified sundries (*Morning Bulletin* 13 June 1900:1).

Repeat business was vital for the survival and growth of Brisbane's colonial undertakers as the competition was fierce, work intermittent and bad debts numerous (J. Smith 1885). Once some families found a firm which met their requirements and provided satisfactory service they stayed loyal customers for decades. Alfred Harris, a Brisbane legal and mercantile clerk, buried his first wife and eight of his fourteen children in infancy. Where burial registers are available, they show that eight family members were buried by Walter Barrett then his business successor W.H. Hancock between 1875 and 1890. This demonstrates the importance of quality of service by a professional service provider in the retention of return business. "When a funeral goes right nobody remembers, when a mistake is made nobody forgets" (Shine 2012:218).

Purchases for internal use

As with any business, goods were purchased by the undertaker for internal use in the operation of the business and these depreciated over time. The cost of these purchases (e.g. hearses, horses and plumes) were not directly passed onto the end consumer but a charge was levied for their use.

Purchases made on behalf of clients

Coffin

The coffin, its furnishings and fittings were supplied by undertakers to their clients and these costs were directly passed on with a profit margin. The requisites to construct a coffin originated from a variety of domestic and international sources and the undertaker acted as an intermediary to facilitate these purchases on behalf of the bereaved. Coffins were made on the undertaker's premises and plumbers were engaged as required. John Smith's purchases show the extent of the trade network which developed between Brisbane and the United Kingdom in the construction of the coffin. For example, Smith purchased nails and screws from Queen Street ironmonger Perry Brothers in February 1885 (J. Smith 1885:2) and in the same month the Perry Brothers landed 13 tons of wire nails from London (*Brisbane Courier* 11 February 1885:1).

It is impossible to calculate the mark-up made by Brisbane's undertakers due to the poor survival of their business records and the lack of itemisation in the accounts presented to the purchasers. Smith noted in his diary on 6th July 1885 that "Hoy commd to make coffins at 3/- each" (J. Smith 1885:10). It is likely that Smith had engaged former cabinet maker and undertaker William Hoy to make coffins for him as Smith previously mentions in his diary about advertising for a man to make coffins. These are likely to be coffins for contract

funerals for which Smith received 15/- and from which he also had to supply a driver, horse and wagon. On the occasions when the volume of institutional burials made up the bulk of the turnover, there was little profit to be made.

Undertakers kept a stock of frequently-used coffin types and sizes, usually 2' to 6'4", out the back of their premises which could be supplied within two hours of receiving an order specifying the length and weight of the deceased as well as the inscription for the depositum, if applicable (*Australian Town and Country Journal* 30 April 1898:24). However, occasionally they were required to build a bespoke coffin, with usually less than 24 hours' notice. For example, the coffin ordered for the funeral of John Cummins was made by joiner and cabinetmaker Thomas Coombs and Robert Caper engraved the brass breastplate (Smith 1887:91). These tradesmen had adjoining premises in Elizabeth Street and were in turn next door to plumber Aaron Wakefield (Queensland Post Office Directory Company 1887:47) whom K.M. Smith had used on previous occasions to manufacture zinc coffin liners (e.g. Smith 1886:October 26). All three were just around the corner of K.M. Smith's George Street branch (Queensland Post Office Directory Company 1887:56). Undertakers would have their own network of tradesmen who would have been conveniently located and able to be engaged expediently.

Coffin furniture

Coffin furniture is the most identifiable input in the coffin construction supply chain. Although there was metal manufacturing in Brisbane from the 1840s (e.g. *Moreton Bay Courier* 20 June 1846:1) all the raw materials had to be imported. In the earliest days of the colony's history, the raw materials for the production of coffin furniture (lead, copper, tin and zinc) had yet to be discovered in Australia in payable quantities. The first Australian lead was mined at Glen Osmond, South Australia in 1841 and copper was commercially mined at nearby Kapunda in 1844 (Blainey 2003:106-8). Tin was not commercially exploited until the early 1870s with discoveries in Tasmania and Inverell, New South Wales (Blainey 2003:130-1). Zinc (alloyed with copper to form brass) was not widely mined until the mid-1870s (Blainey 2003:254-5). It made economic sense to import the completed article instead of the bulky raw materials. This was the case for the majority of goods consumed in a funeral as there was insufficient population to create the volume of sales required to support local manufacturing. No evidence of commercial Australian manufacture of coffin furniture has been found through either documentary or physical evidence.

Mass produced coffin furniture, like that recovered from the NBBG can be traced back to 1769 when John Pickering, a tin-plate manufacturer in Southwark, London, patented a power-assisted method of raising patterns in sheet metal which permitted the cheap mass production (Church 1966:621). Prior to this, coffin furniture was manufactured by hand-operated die stamping machines and being more expensive to produce, its use was restricted to those who had significant financial resources. The rise in the use of coffin furniture coincides with the adoption of the coffin as a burial container for the corpse across all social classes (Litten 2002:86). The author's examination of the design registers held by the National Archives, Kew, created to meet the requirements of the *Copyright of Designs Act* (1839) and the *Ornamental Designs Act* (1842) showed an increasingly competitive marketplace. From 11 manufacturers (nine in Birmingham) prior to 1849 (TNA BT44/1 1775-65439) the market expanded to 19 manufacturers by 1870, with new entrants coming from as far as Dublin, Ireland and Falkirk, Scotland (TNA BT44/2 200016-237507).

British manufacturers marketed to Brisbane undertakers by post. For example, in 1885 John Smith received a letter and catalogue from Birmingham coffin furniture manufacturer Oswald Caldicott from which he ordered over £130 worth of goods (J. Smith 1885:6). As an indication of the variation of coffin furniture which was held in stock, undertaker William Walsh wrote in his funeral order book in an entry dated 20th February 1877, the colours, sizes, style numbers and number of sets of coffin furniture he sent from his Brisbane City head office to his Fortitude Valley branch office (Walsh 1877). Unfortunately, as the manufacturer is unknown, it is impossible to align the designs with any extant coffin furniture catalogues in the United Kingdom to determine the style of coffin furniture being sold in Brisbane. Table 26 is a transcription of Walsh's inventory. Some of Walsh's abbreviations have not yet been translated.

Table 26 Coffin furniture held in stock by William Walsh in February 1877 (Walsh 1877:20 February)

Date	Furniture Stock sent to Fortitude Valley	Sets
February 20	Imp Black no. 18	18
	Gilt & Black (Reg.) no. 150	12
	Imp Black (Reg) no 150	15
	W & B No 18	36
	W & B No 18 + pattern	16
21	W & B No 120 S	18
	W & B No 111 S	9
	W & B No 9 Infants	79
	W & B No 164 Youths	22
	W & B No 53 Youths	20
	Plates	No. of plates
February 20	Imp Black no. 18	18
	Gilt & Black (Reg.) no. 150	12
	Imp Black (Reg) no 150	15
	W & B No 18	36
	W & B No 18 + patt.	16
21	W & B No 120 S	18
	W & B No 111 S	9
	W & B No 9 Infants	79
	W & B No 164 Youths	14
	W & B No 53 Youths	20

From the above table the ‘furniture stock’ matches the ‘plates’ in all instances except “W & B No 164 Youths” (22 opposed to 14). It can be extrapolated from this table that Walsh kept only a very limited range of patterns (9, 18, 53, 111, 120, 150 and 164) from the myriad of designs which were available. Some patterns were available in a choice of colour-ways. Design number 18 was available in black or white and black and design 150 was available in black or gilt and black. Sets were available in three sizes, infants, youths and adult. Walsh stocked only one design of registered coffin furniture which was available in a choice of two colours. Presumably these were used for his first class funerals (*Brisbane Courier* 2 November 1877:1). The number of infants sets reflect the infant mortality rate of Brisbane in the 1870s (see Chapter Four) and this consequently comprised a significant portion of Walsh’s business. An examination of Walsh’s funeral order books for 1877 shows that Walsh conducted 177 funerals. Of these 83 (47%) were for infants under the age of two. As only 32% of the coffin furniture sets were designated for infants, presumably the difference may be accounted for by infants buried under contract when no coffin furniture was used. Walsh supplied only one option for infants; white and black no. 9. This is same description of coffin furniture ordered by Walsh’s

business successor John Smith on the 30th April 1885 (J. Smith 1885:5). Smith wrote to coffin furniture importer James Walford in Sydney ordering 20 sets which he received on 11th May 1885 for which he paid £20/6/- (J. Smith 1885:6). Coffin furniture sets often had a choice of handles for youth, women and men indicated by a graduation in size.

From the archaeological evidence recovered from the NBBG, the majority of coffins uncovered had no decorative plates at all, and on coffins where plates were recovered, only a depositum was used (McGowan 2007:292). Only one grave (Feature 135) recovered from the Roman Catholic Burial ground contain the full complement of coffin furniture i.e. depositum, handles with grip plates, lid decorations and lace (McGowan 2007:292).

Hearses

Apart from the premises, the hearse was the most significant purchase made by an undertaker and being the focal point of the adult funeral, it needed to be kept in the best condition possible and not allowed to become out of date. The first undertaker to advertise having a hearse and mourning coach was Joshua Ebenston in April 1863 (*Courier* 21 April 1863:1).

In 1890, James Hislop expanded his “already expensive plant by the importation from England of a Four-horse hearse of the latest design” (*Brisbane Courier* 24 May 1890:7). The non-survival of Hislop’s funeral order books means that it cannot be determined how often the four-horse hearse was used and whether the expense of importing it and acquiring another pair of horses to pull it was justified. In comparison, from 383 funerals conducted by K.M. Smith in 1900 only three were ‘four-in-hand’ (Smith 1900:16-76).

Instead of going to the trouble and the expense of importing a hearse and paying the £15 customs tariff levied (Wise & Co. 1896:1185) Sillett & Barrett had a hearse made for them in Brisbane by William Randall (*Brisbane Courier* 27 February 1896:4). It was described as being:

of light construction and finished off with silver mountings and purple hangings ... urns and other emblems are arranged that they can be replaced by white ornaments or by plumes as may be required (*Brisbane Courier* 27 February 1896:4).

This new hearse gave the firm the flexibility of catering to the change to simplicity evident in the late 1890s but also accommodating those clients who wished for a more traditional funeral with plumes.

If a hearse broke a wheel or a shaft, it had to be repaired overnight in preparation for the next day or the undertaker would have to make arrangements to borrow another or lose the funeral to a competitor. The funeral of 72 year-old Kate O'Donnell in February 1885 should have been profitable for John Smith with £15 charged for the coffin, plumes and hearse to collect the deceased from Logan Reserve (40 kilometres from Smith's premises) for burial at the nearby Waterford Cemetery. Smith sent off his manager John Howe and groom John Draper at 10.15am for the 4.30pm funeral. The pair returned at 1.15am the following morning with a damaged hearse (K.M. Smith 1885:98). Smith records in his diary paying coach maker Watt and Hopper £20 to have the hearse repaired (J. Smith 1885:3).

On occasions, the number of funerals scheduled for one day exceeded the amount of plant available to an individual undertaker. Undertakers would usually lend their horses, vehicles and staff to their competitors to cope with the excess demand with the expectation that the favour would be returned. Tuesday, 25th October 1886 was a particularly busy day for undertaker K.M. Smith. The firm had borrowed a mourning coach from J.&J. Hislop for the funeral of Amelia Pryke at South Brisbane Cemetery. It arrived late delaying the funeral by 45 minutes (Smith 1886:242). Meanwhile, the funeral of 11 year-old Davina McLeod required a total of three coaches, a further two having to be hired from J.&J. Hislop as K.M. Smith's coaches had not yet returned from the delayed Pryke funeral (Smith 1886:242). This spirit of co-operation was not always evident, however. When W.H. Hancock bought out Walter Barrett in 1885 and rapidly acquired a substantial portion of the market, undertakers John Smith and James Hislop met and decided not to hire Hancock any of their plant (J. Smith 1885:19). For the funerals of exceptionally prominent individuals, a principal undertaker was appointed and other undertakers supplied additional plant, usually mourning coaches. For example, for the funeral of colonial Queensland Governor Sir Anthony Musgrave in October 1888 conducted by principal undertaker J.&J. Hislop, K.M. Smith supplied a mourning coach for the official cortège to convey the Rabbi and members of the Hebrew congregation for which she received £1/10/- (Smith 1888:267). J.&J. Hislop were paid a total £88/10/- however, no breakdown of this figure survives (Queensland Treasury Department 1888:24 October).

When Sophie Miller purchased the business of H. Dietz from Rose O'Rourke, one of her first actions was to purchase a hooded buggy to add to the firm's plant (*Brisbane Courier* 6 September 1899:8). The buggy was used on seven occasions in 1900 to transport infants under the age of six months for burial in Class Three graves at South Brisbane Cemetery (Miller 1900:165-204).

In September 1890, undertaker Alma Adlington grappled with the inefficiencies of requiring both hearses and mourning carriages for adult funerals and applied for a patent for a “Combined Carriage and Hearse” (QGG 1890 LI (12):187). The concept was to place the coffin in a compartment under the floor while the passengers rode above facing each other. After the funeral the plumes could be removed to revert it to a carriage (Nolan 2009:41-2). Adlington did not live long enough to bring his idea to fruition, dying eight months after the patent was registered (Queensland Death Registration 1891/B24099).

In the mid-1890s, John Hislop invested in a white hearse for the conveyance of children and young adults to the grave (Figure 21). He advertised a “REGISTERED WHITE-HEARSE, for Young People and Children, at a MERELY Nominal Charge” (original capitalisation *Brisbane Courier* 28 November 1895:1). This advertisement ran every day in the *Brisbane Courier* until mid-1897 (*Brisbane Courier* 9 July 1897:1). The earlier advertisements included young people and children but at the end of February 1896, the wording of the advertisement was subtly changed and the phrase “and children” was deleted (*Brisbane Courier* 27 February 1896:1). Perhaps Hislop did not win the custom he expected.



Figure 21 Publicity photograph for John Hislop taken outside of the gates of the Brisbane General Cemetery ca 1895 [Private collection M. McNamara]

Horses

The most significant recurring cost for the firms was the keeping of horses in peak working condition. Like the hearse, they were the centre of attention and their care and appearance was a reflection of the care that the undertaker presumably took with the deceased. Undertaker John Smith kept a stable diary in which he listed the expenses for keeping six black horses fed, shod and healthy, the difficulties in purchasing suitable black horses and the difficulty finding grooms who were prepared to work the long and irregular hours that the undertaking business entailed. The diary notes the comings and goings of ten grooms in 1885 with some (e.g. William Fraser) staying in the job less than a fortnight (J. Smith 1885:1). Smith's diary also describes days with no funerals to conduct punctuated with very busy periods when both men and horses were in short supply and had to be borrowed from other firms (J. Smith 1885:12).

Generally hearses were drawn by two matched black horses, though occasionally a 'four-in-hand' was ordered probably for display purposes as the hearse could conceivably be drawn by a single horse. Smith purchased a black horse in March 1885 for £22 (J. Smith 1885:3). Smith noted that on the 2nd December 1885 that rival undertaker Hancock "bought 2 more horses today £60" (J. Smith 1885:18). From time to time advertisements were placed by horse dealers in the *Brisbane Courier* alerting Brisbane's undertakers to the availability of matched pairs of black horses with no white flashes (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 30 May 1896:8). Chatwood Saleyards, East Brisbane, advertised colts "as black as crows and just up to the undertaker's weight" (*Brisbane Courier* 23 October 1901:10).

Veterinary expenses were another significant cost input. Incidents which injured or even killed horses occasionally occurred. *Darkey*, just purchased by John Smith in April 1885, injured himself in his stall by becoming entangled in a rope (J. Smith 1885:5). In addition, Smith had to call in the veterinarian four times in August 1885 alone (J. Smith 1885:11). Brisbane's heat also had a deleterious effect on working horses and losing one had a major economic impact on the business. One of Hislop's horses died of heat exhaustion in harness on an unusually hot October day in 1883 when the temperature reached 38 degrees Celsius (102 Fahrenheit) (*Logan Witness* 27 October 1883:2).

Plumes

Brisbane's undertakers did not explicitly advertise the availability of plumes until December 1879 when both J.&J. Hislop and William Walsh advertised black ostrich plumes (Figure 22) (*Brisbane Courier* 10 December 1879:5). Plumes were not unknown to the population

of Brisbane as block-cut images of hearses and horses bedecked with plumes had appeared in display advertisements in *Pugh's Queensland Almanac* annually since 1872 and a significant proportion of the population had undoubtedly seen plumes in the United Kingdom. The introduction of white ostrich plumes for children may have been the innovation which sparked this spate of advertising (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 10 December 1879:5) but an examination of Walsh's funeral order books show that no white plumes were itemised in the period he operated the business.

Funerals.



UNDERTAKING.

THIS Department is Conducted under our own superintendence, and we are prepared to supply the Best BLACK OSTRICH PLUMES for Adults' Funerals. Also, WHITE PLUMES for Children's Funerals, and at Prices to suit all classes of the community.
Office Open Day and Night.

J. & J. HISLOP,
UNDERTAKERS,
QUEEN-STREET. 7131

UNDERTAKING ESTABLISHMENT.
GEORGE-STREET.
(Between ADELAIDE and QUEEN STREETS.)

The undersigned is now prepared to carry out Funerals to suit all classes of the community at the Lowest Prices.

First-class ADULT'S FUNERAL — Best HEARSE and Mourning COACH, with Black Ostrich PLUMES and Mounted COFFIN, &c., for NINE POUNDS.

WILLIAM WALSH, UNDERTAKER, George-street, Brisbane. 5057

Figure 22 First advertisements for plumes in the Brisbane newspapers (*Brisbane Courier* 25 October 1879:5)

Curiously John Smith advertised 'real' ostrich plumes, giving the impression that an inferior or counterfeit product was on the Brisbane market (*Brisbane Courier* 28 February 1883:1). Smith imported his plumes from undertakers' manufacturers Dottridge Brothers of London (Smith 1883:i). Plumes were not exempt from customs tariffs and in 1882 an *ad valorem* rate of £5 for every £100 of value was levied (Gordon & Gotch 1882:77). By 1896 the *ad valorem* rate had risen to £15 for every £100 (Wise & Co. 1896:1185) possibly speeding up the demise in the popularity of plumes as it became more expensive for the undertakers to provide them.

The first surviving itemised funeral order for plumes was for the funeral of 21 year old Anglican Henry Wilkes conducted by Walsh on the 16th January 1879 (Walsh 1879:28). For a short period (January 1879–July 1881), Walsh kept a separate list of the 34 funerals (17 males and 17 females) for which he supplied plumes (Walsh 1879:150-1). When this list is combined with the funeral orders and cemetery burial registers, it can be established that plumes were ordered for six times as many Class Two funerals than Class One funerals (Table 27).

Table 27 Grave class of funerals ordering plumes from William Walsh (January 1879 – July 1881) (Walsh 1879:150-1)

Grave Class	Number
Class One Grave	4
Class Two Grave	23
Not stated	7
Total	34

There was no discernible preference for plumes by one religious denomination over another (Table 28).

Table 28 Religious affiliation of funerals ordering plumes (January 1879 – July 1881) (Walsh 1879:150-1)

Denomination	Number	Percentage of Total
Anglican	7	21%
Protestant	11	32%
Catholic	8	24%
Chinese	1	3%
Not stated	7	21%
Total	34	100%

The average age of the deceased for whom plumes were ordered was 44 years with the range from eight years and nine months to 86 years. There is a decided preference for plumes to be ordered for those who died in the ‘prime of their lives’, notably women of child-bearing age (Figure 23).

Purchases for retail sale

The undertakers’ business was usually conducted in an office within the premises of the proprietor’s substantive business, usually furniture manufacturing and/or retailing (e.g. John Hislop conducted undertaking as a department of the Queensland Furniture Exhibition Showrooms (*Brisbane Courier* 2 December 1889:2)).

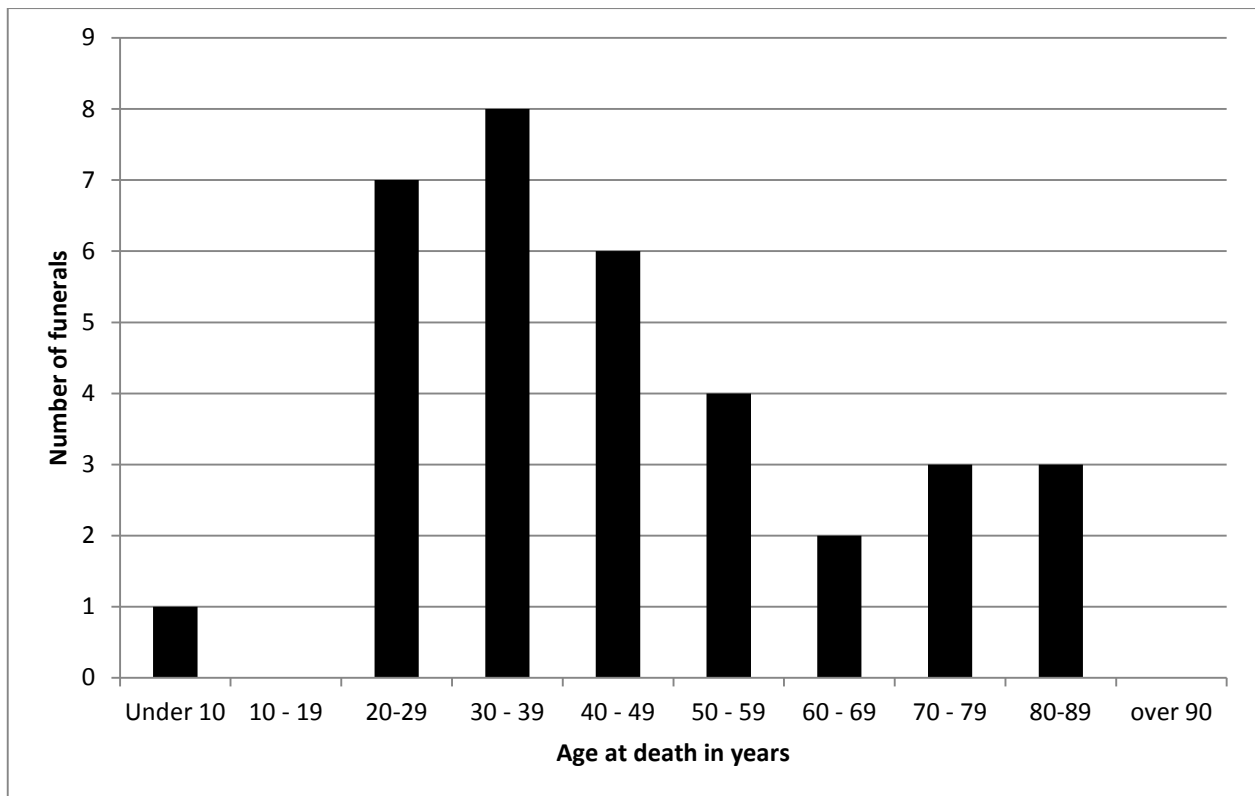


Figure 23 Age of the deceased for funerals ordering plumes (January 1879 – July 1881) (Walsh 1879:150-1)

In subsequent decades, as the undertakers divested themselves of their other business interests to operate solely as undertakers; (e.g. John Smith in 1883 (*Brisbane Courier* 28 February 1883:1), W.H. Hancock in 1889 (*Brisbane Courier* 12 April 1889:8) and John Hislop in 1893 (*Brisbane Courier* 20 March 1893:8).

Their offices became showrooms opening onto the street and transformed into retail outlets. Business activities such as coffin making and fitting were now conducted at branch premises, and the head office in the central business district took on a more commercial role, merchandising a novel range of funerary goods. Figure 24 shows a wide array of commemorative goods available for discretionary spending both at the time of the funeral and on dates such as the anniversary of the death or the deceased's birthday. Brisbane undertakers' coffin display spaces never reached the level of sophistication or proportions of their North American contemporaries (e.g. Lampros 2013:42-52).

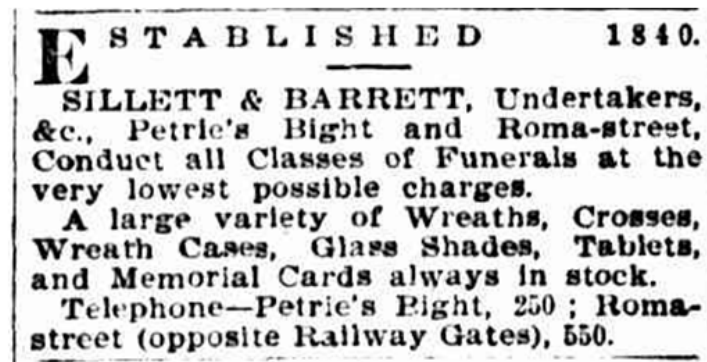


Figure 24 New merchandise and services available for purchase from Sillett and Barrett (*Brisbane Courier* 10 July 1896:1)

Floral tributes

During the mid-1880s some Brisbane undertakers added the retailing of artificial wreaths, flower crosses and immortelles to their primary service function and these goods needed to be conspicuously displayed. The custom of sending flowers (fresh or artificial) to be displayed at funerals expanded rapidly during the 1880s and the undertakers had to expand their range of goods to meet public demand. In 1882, the Hislop Brothers commissioned a new building (Figure 25) to be erected in Queen Street for their combined undertaking and furniture retailing business; “the general style of the front will be Italian, the usual brickwork being eliminated as much as possible in the lower portion to give place to large openings filled with plate glass” (*Brisbane Courier* 2 January 1882:5). John Hislop utilised the display window next to the entrance to present the floral tributes in such a manner that they could not fail to be noticed by clients entering the business.



Figure 25 John Hislop with a display of floral tributes at his Queen Street premises ca 1885 (SLQ 16766)

John Smith also incorporated the sale of wreaths into his business. He gave an order for the construction of a glass show case to display wreaths in May 1885 (J. Smith 1885:6) and on 6 June 1885, records selling a cross and wreath to Mrs Bix totalling 15/- (J. Smith 1885:8). Smith wrote on the 18th November 1885 to James Walford, an undertakers' requisites importer in Sydney, New South Wales enquiring after wreaths and crosses (J. Smith 1885:17). Walford sent Smith a case containing samples just over a week later (J. Smith 1885:17). Smith must have been impressed because on the 2nd December 1885 Smith sent a cheque to Walford "for wreaths etc." but did not itemise the amount (J. Smith 1885:18).

Despite the significant number of fresh flowers sent to major funerals from the 1880s onwards (see Chapter Four) the undertakers do not appear to have been the major supplier of these. From the undertakers' funeral order books of three firms for 1900 (Table 29), the majority of flowers sold were artificial unless denoted as 'natural'.

Table 29 Floral tributes sold by three Brisbane undertaking firms in 1900.

Date 1900	Description of Goods	Cost	Undertaker
3 January	Wreath with globe and wire cover	£1/8/9	Cannon & Cripps
5 January	Wreath	13/6 [Purchased for the funeral of Robert Bingham conducted by Sillett & Barrett]	Cannon & Cripps
8 January	Wreaths	£12/4/- [Purchased by retailer Finney & Co.]	Cannon & Cripps
8 January	Wreath	13/-	Cannon & Cripps
27 February	Wreath with globe and motto	£1/5/-	Cannon & Cripps
1 March	Wreath	15/6	Cannon & Cripps
20 March	Wreath with case	Not separately itemised	Sophie Miller
25 June	Wreath with globe and wire cover	£1/15/-	K.M. Smith
28 June	Two wreaths, shades & wire netting	£2/7/-	K.M. Smith
29 June	Wreath	15/-	K.M. Smith
7 July	Wire wreath cover	5/-	K.M. Smith
17 August	Wreath	10/-	Cannon & Cripps
30 August	Wreath	9/6	Sophie Miller
10 September	Two large wreaths & four small wreaths natural flowers	£6/10/-	K.M. Smith
12 October	Wreath in box	£1 [including postage paid to Texas, Queensland]	Sophie Miller
13 October	Wreath with case	12/-	Sophie Miller
24 November	Wreath natural flowers	15/-	K.M. Smith
18 December	Glass wreath case Wire netting	£1/2/6 5/-	K.M. Smith

From Table 29 it appears that the retail price range for artificial wreaths ranged from 9/6 to 15/6 with accessories such as wire covers and glass domes extra. No Brisbane description or photographs of the appearance of these wreaths have survived but a near-contemporary report of the new premises of Sydney undertaker A.C.J. Wood stated:

A little further on is a glass show-case displaying funeral wreaths, beautiful designs in anchors, crosses, Masonic Emblems, &c. to suit all requirements from 2s 6d to £2 2s each. There is a large stock in hand, and the newest designs are being constantly improved (*Sunday Times* 20 December 1896:3).

Undertakers also imported wreaths directly from the United Kingdom, bypassing middlemen such as Walford (e.g. the *Willowbank* from London landed two cases of

wreaths in June 1884 (*Brisbane Courier* 21 June 1884:4)). The corresponding Customs Duties List showing payments for the week did not specify any funerary goods but there is a significant sum under sundries (*Brisbane Courier* 21 June 1884:4). This is amongst the first newspaper evidence in Brisbane of the importation of wreaths direct from the United Kingdom. Non-payment of customs duties led to seizure of the goods under *Customs Act* (1878) allowing Collector of Customs to sell the goods at public auction to recoup the duty. In August 1898, seven cases containing 50 boxes of wreaths and crosses were put up for auction (*Brisbane Courier* 2 August 1898:8). The purchaser of this lot is unknown. These wreaths were most likely to have been made of ceramic flowers, a by-industry which developed from the potteries of Stoke-on-Trent where workers skilled in fashioning flowers to decorate porcelain used the same materials and skills to fashion wreaths and immortelles (Lawley 2005:57).

By contrast, the dipping of fresh flowers in wax to preserve them was a cottage industry which existed in Brisbane. For example, wax flower artisan Mrs Isabella De Jersey had premises in Margaret Street in the Brisbane business district conveniently located near the premises of the city's three major undertakers (Watson 1885:94).

Once undertakers took on the role of retailers, they were liable to the same losses suffered by them. In a curious incident, Isabella McManeny was charged with the theft of a beaded wreath from an undertaker's shop (*Brisbane Courier* 26 October 1896:5). Unfortunately the name of the undertaker and the value of the wreath were not reported.

Mourning stationery

During the 1880s, undertakers added mourning stationery and memorial cards to their product range (*Queensland Evangelical Standard* 7 January 1887:595). This was previously a province of general retail stationers such as J.U. McNaught who advertised in 1878 "memorial and funeral cards in chaste patterns" (McNaught & Co. 1878:iv). In 1887, W.H. Hancock advertised "memorial cards" on the header of a client's funeral invoice (Figure 26). The undertakers also acted as agents for specialist printers such as the Queensland Memorial Card Co. which operated from Grey Street, South Brisbane or general printers such as Watson Ferguson and Co. (Watson 1885:xliv). In only one instance, in 1900, has the purchase of these goods has been preserved in a funeral account. Edith Masters purchased a dozen "m. cards" for 15/- at the same time as arranging the funeral for her 40 year old husband Frank Masters (Smith 1900:55). These cards are likely to have been personalised with a photograph and a verse and at 15/-, comparatively expensive, comprising 12.6% of the total funeral cost.

Established, 1840. PETRIE'S UNDERTAKING ESTABLISHMENT, Established, 1840.
 PETRIE'S BIGHT; BRANCH OFFICE, STANLEY STREET,
 Brisbane, March 16th 1887
 Dr. to W. H. HANCOCK & CO.,
 (Successors to W. BARRETT),
 Telephone, No. 250. UNDERTAKERS, Etc.
 Memorial Cards, Shrouds, Robes, &c., &c., &c.
 Grave Ornaments, Wreaths, Crosses, Immortelles, Etc.
 Marble and Stone Monuments, Grave Stones, Railings, etc., made and erected at cheapest rates.

Interment the late Ah Hing
 aged 57 years - at G. Cemetery.
 Coffin the size one coach.
 Grave fees &c. £ 9 15⁰

Figure 26 Header of the funeral invoice for Ah Hing showing the range of goods available from W.H. Hancock (1887) [Private collection V. Blomer]

Undertakers retailed shrouds as well as using them in the funerals they provided (Figure 26). Undertaker J.W. Reed at Ipswich advertised "Adult's and Children's Shrouds (in Swansdown, Sateen and Lawn) at very reasonable prices" (*Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* 6 November 1886:5). The low number of shrouds used in burials in 1900 (Chapter Four) may be explained by undocumented retail cash sales.

Expanding the business

As the Victoria Era progressed, undertakers began to spread the financial risk by diversifying their business adding goods and services to meet the perceived public demand. They diversified into the procurement of headstones, the provision of embalming and offering the facility of a funeral parlour.

Headstones

Ebenston advertised an expanded range of services including acting as an intermediary between the bereaved and monumental masons by arranging the erection of headstones and railings; the first Brisbane undertaker to advertise this service (*Brisbane Courier* 30 January 1866:1). The bereaved also had the option of dealing directly with Brisbane's two monumental masons: George Prentice, who advertised widely in newspaper and directories (Thorne and Greenwell 1870:53); and John Petrie, the elder brother of undertaker George Barney Petrie. Brisbane's monumental masons developed a network of undertakers to act as agents throughout the Colony. For example, Andrew L. Petrie Pty Ltd used photographs of their monuments in numbered albums with price lists included from the 1880s through to when the firm was wound up in 1983. The duplicate albums were sent to the firm's agents in Warwick, Bundaberg and Townsville (A.L. Petrie 1903 - 1983). In 1887, W.H. Hancock advertised "Church and Cemetery memorials in the Highest Style of Art and Design supplied and erected" (*Queensland Evangelical Standard* 7 January 1887:595). On his funeral invoices for the same year (Figure 26) Hancock advises that "Marble and Stone Monuments, Grave Stones, Railings etc., made and erected at the cheapest rates" and he did not undertake any monumental work personally, he must have been acting as an agent for a monumental mason.

Embalming

For an undertaker to add embalming to their list of services would have had financial implications with the payment for training, and the purchase of the necessary equipment and chemicals. It is notable that all of Brisbane's undertakers pursued this option despite there being no obvious demand by the population of Brisbane. It was not until the arrival in Brisbane of Ohio-born 'Professor' George Hartford Rivers from the American School of Embalming in May 1895 (*Brisbane Courier* 18 May 1895:4) that Brisbane undertakers started to advertise themselves as undertakers and embalmers, advertising the hygienic advantages of their new service and the ability to delay funerals. Rivers conducted classes at the Brisbane Hospital and at least one principal of each of the undertaking firms graduated from the course (*Brisbane Courier* 18 May 1895:4). It is unrecorded if the Brisbane Hospital provided any cadavers for Rivers to demonstrate the embalming technique. John Kenny of Kenny, Dietz and Hastie was particularly anxious to inform the public of his newly-acquired skills even to the point of reproducing his Diploma of Embalming as part of a lengthy advertisement in the *Brisbane Courier*.

Whilst returning thanks to our numerous Patrons and the public generally for their generous recognition of our efforts to carry out in the most complete and satisfactory manner the rites of the dead during the past six years, we now beg to notify that, in addition to our already fully appointed establishment, we have added another branch in which we hope to be able to carry out in all its details the process of EMBALMING after death at the lowest nominal cost, thus affording an opportunity-hitherto prevented by the climate-to the relatives and friends of the deceased to have the remains conveyed from any distance at any time of the year, and of viewing the departed before removal to the family vault (*Brisbane Courier* 30 May 1895:1).

From the middle of May 1895, every single one of Brisbane's undertakers advertised themselves as "undertakers and embalmers" in funeral notices and advertisements (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 23 May 1895:1). This negated any competitive advantage that completing the course may have had. Kenny, Dietz and Hastie took their advertising one step further by placing an advertorial in the business column of the *Brisbane Courier* proclaiming the success they had with the embalming of the body of Amy Garster 110 hours after her death and that her many friends were able to "look upon her face and take their last farewells" (*Brisbane Courier* 7 October 1895:5). This does not appear to be a case of advertising hyperbole as Garster died in Brisbane on 29th September 1895 (Queensland Death Registration 1895/B028109) and was buried at the South Brisbane Cemetery on the 4th October 1895 (Portion 8B Grave 115).

Prior to the arrival of Rivers, it is unlikely that Brisbane's undertakers chose to embalm corpses themselves. There is no archaeological evidence of embalming artefacts (e.g. trocar buttons) (Berryman *et al* 1991:234) from the NBBG as its closure predates Rivers' arrival by 20 years.

Private mortuaries and parlours

In 1899, John Hislop was the first Brisbane undertaker to advertise providing the use of a private mortuary and funeral parlour (*Brisbane Courier* 4 October 1899:1). This marked the start of the shift from preparing the corpse for burial in the home to performing these tasks on the undertaker's premises. It then followed that the first part of the funeral service would also be performed at the premises instead of the home, avoiding the expense of extra transportation of the corpse and the time it entailed. By concentrating the funerary preparation and rites to a single site, the undertakers could more efficiently manage the event and expand their sphere of influence over the bereaved by maintaining control of the corpse.

Marketing themselves

With a number of competitors in the comparatively small Brisbane market many undertakers saw the need to advertise their services. The cost of advertising was a significant outlay for the undertakers. While the cost of funeral notices placed by the undertakers on behalf of the bereaved was simply added to the client's account, advertising the undertaking business itself was a cost which was absorbed as an operating overhead.

Brisbane's undertakers were surprisingly slow to realise the usefulness of funeral notices for advertising their business as this had been commonplace in Sydney since 1849 (e.g. *Sydney Morning Herald* 19 June 1849:1). The first Brisbane undertaker to append his name to a funeral notice was Joshua Ebenston in December 1860 (*Moreton Bay Courier* 4 December 1860:2). The *Courier* and *Brisbane Courier* did not initially have a dedicated column with funeral notices appearing interspersed in the classified advertisements differentiated only by a thick black line top and bottom reminiscent of mourning stationery. Ebenston frequently used this strategy to make his advertisements more visible (e.g. *Courier* 1 August 1863:6).

In the first decade of the study period (1860s), there was essentially a duopoly with the provision of undertaking services by George Barney Petrie and the more recent arrival Joshua Ebenston. As the Petrie family had been conducting funerals since the advent of free settlement in the Moreton Bay District of the colony of New South Wales in 1840 (Nolan, 2009:1-3), they probably thought that it was unnecessary to spend money on any form of advertising other than very occasionally appending their name at the bottom of a funeral notice as "everybody knew the Petries were in the business and it was everyone else who needed to advertise" (Smith 2002:99). This reliance on word of mouth recommendations is surprising considering the continuous influx of migrants who would have been ignorant of the colony's history. As Petrie did not advertise is only possible to examine the local newspaper advertisements placed by Joshua Ebenston until 1866 when Francis Murray entered the market.

Consumer testimonials, which played an important role in the advertising of a wide range of goods in Queensland during the colonial era, e.g. patent medicines (Sprenger 2012:150), are absent in the advertising of the undertaker's services. The only example is this line John Hislop placed in his display advertising for many years "For better value there never were. This is the opinion of all my clients, FROM FAR AND NEAR"

(*Queensland Official Directory* 1900:57). An actual customer's opinion was never published.

There is some evidence that undertakers tailored their advertisements to appeal to the demographics of the readership of a particular newspaper. John Smith advertised for six months in the populist weekly satirical journal *Queensland Figaro*, from November 1884 (Figure 27). Not only did this advertisement not resemble any other undertakers' advertisements that year, it did not appear in any other newspaper.



Figure 27 John Smith's advertisement in the *Queensland Figaro* 29 November 1884:29

To save the cost of advertising by reducing the number of times the newspaper charged a setup fee, the same advertisements ran at daily or weekly) intervals for months. Regular newspaper advertisements allow a detailed examination of which attributes undertakers chose to highlight in the marketing of their goods and services and how these changed over time. The vocabulary of 87 advertisements from 1859 – 1901 extracted from the *Moreton Bay Courier* and its successor titles *Courier* and *Brisbane Courier* was examined for the attributes identified: continuity and experience; competency; timeliness; convenience; location and reach; economy; quality and prestige.

Continuity and experience

In a colony with a transient population and an air of impermanence, the ability to advertise an early establishment date or a chain of succession was paramount in creating the aura of permanence, thereby reliability and trustworthiness. The early 1860s had seen a number of small concerns (e.g. J.G. Gerlee, W.O. Anderson) come and go. When Joshua

Ebenston placed his first advertisement in April 1861, he used the affiliation with the firm's founder and prominent pioneering citizen Alfred Slaughter, rather than his immediate predecessor Joseph Burry, who only ran the business for less than eighteen months (*Moreton Bay Courier* 17 December 1859:3). From then, Ebenston advertises an establishment date of 1855 (e.g. *Courier* 21 April 1863:4) or 1854 (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 3 October 1865:1). The establishment date of 1864 (*Brisbane Courier* 8 March 1866:1) in an advertisement placed by Ebenston when Murray enters the market is erroneous and is subsequently corrected.

When John Hislop began trading under his own name in August 1869, he informed his potential clientele about "his varied experience in different branches of the business, both at home and in the colony (having been upward of four-years with Mr J. Ebenston of Queen Street)" (*Brisbane Courier* 7 August 1869:1). By 1901, Hislop was emphasising his 34 years of industry experience (*Queensland Official Directory* 1900:1323). Walter Barrett emphasises in italics that the firm which he took over was established in 1840, pre-dating the opening of Brisbane to free settlement (*Brisbane Courier* 28 January 1880:6). W.H. Hancock, on taking over Barrett's business, also traded on the "established 1840" tagline (*Brisbane Courier* 22 December 1887:2). Both Barrett and Hancock traded from time to time under the name of Petrie's Undertaking Establishment capitalising on the goodwill which would have accrued from the original proprietors John and George Barney Petrie. After Hancock's bankruptcy and a succession of owners, the firm came into the hands of Sillett & Barrett who also emphasised the attribute of continuity with "established 1840" which they placed on every newspaper display advertisement they ran (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 10 July 1896:1). Hancock and Corbett advised the public of Queensland that they had "bought the old established (over forty years) Undertaking Business so long carried on by the late G.B. Petrie and by Mr. Barrett" (*Brisbane Courier* 2 June 1884:1).

Competency

Attributes pertaining to competency i.e. "funerals properly conducted" were initially included in the advertisements of Joshua Ebenston (*Courier* 15 November 1862:1). Ebenston also advertised conducting funerals in the "most approved style" (*Courier* 21 April 1863:4).

When George Wilson disposed of Murray's business in 1876, the advertisement of that fact reassured Brisbane's residents that the business was being placed in a safe (and experienced) pair of hands (*Brisbane Courier* 1 March 1876:1). William Hoy had had a number of years' experience in the undertaking business in Brisbane but as he had never

traded in his own name, it was probably unknown to the general public. William Walsh, owner of the Co-operative Funeral Company was banking on Hoy's ability to perform funerals punctually and accurately (*Brisbane Courier* 1 March 1876:1). Previous advertisements advising the change of management generally stated the facts of the transaction and did not provide a character reference for the employees.

The principals of a number of undertaking firms emphasised that funerals were conducted under their personal supervision. For example, John and James Hislop advertised that "This Department is Conducted under our superintendence" (*Brisbane Courier* 10 December 1879:5). John Smith similarly offered funerals "under his personal supervision" (*Brisbane Courier* 12 February 1883:1) or "under the personal superintendence of the undersigned" (*Brisbane Courier* 1 September 1883:7).

Timeliness

The first serious competition for Ebenston (and Petrie) arrived in March 1866 when cabinetmaker Francis Murray expanded into undertaking. Murray advertised another attribute not previously seen in Brisbane undertakers' advertisements, that of timeliness "conduct this branch of business with punctuality and despatch" implying that late arriving undertakers were a problem which he had the capacity to fix (*Brisbane Courier* 5 March 1866:1). Murray's successor G.W.C. Wilson claimed the ability to perform funerals "on the shortest possible notice" (*Brisbane Courier* 3 September 1872:1). A number of firms promised that "orders for funerals will receive prompt attention" (e.g. Petrie's Undertaking Establishment *Brisbane Courier* 5 June 1875:1). John Smith, after taking over from William Walsh promised to conduct funerals with "promptitude" (*Brisbane Courier* 12 February 1883:1). Table 30 summarises the vocabulary items used in the advertising sample to denote 'timeliness'. In keeping with Brisbane's custom of rapid burial, arranging the funeral and removing the corpse from the home, especially in summer, was a priority for the bereaved.

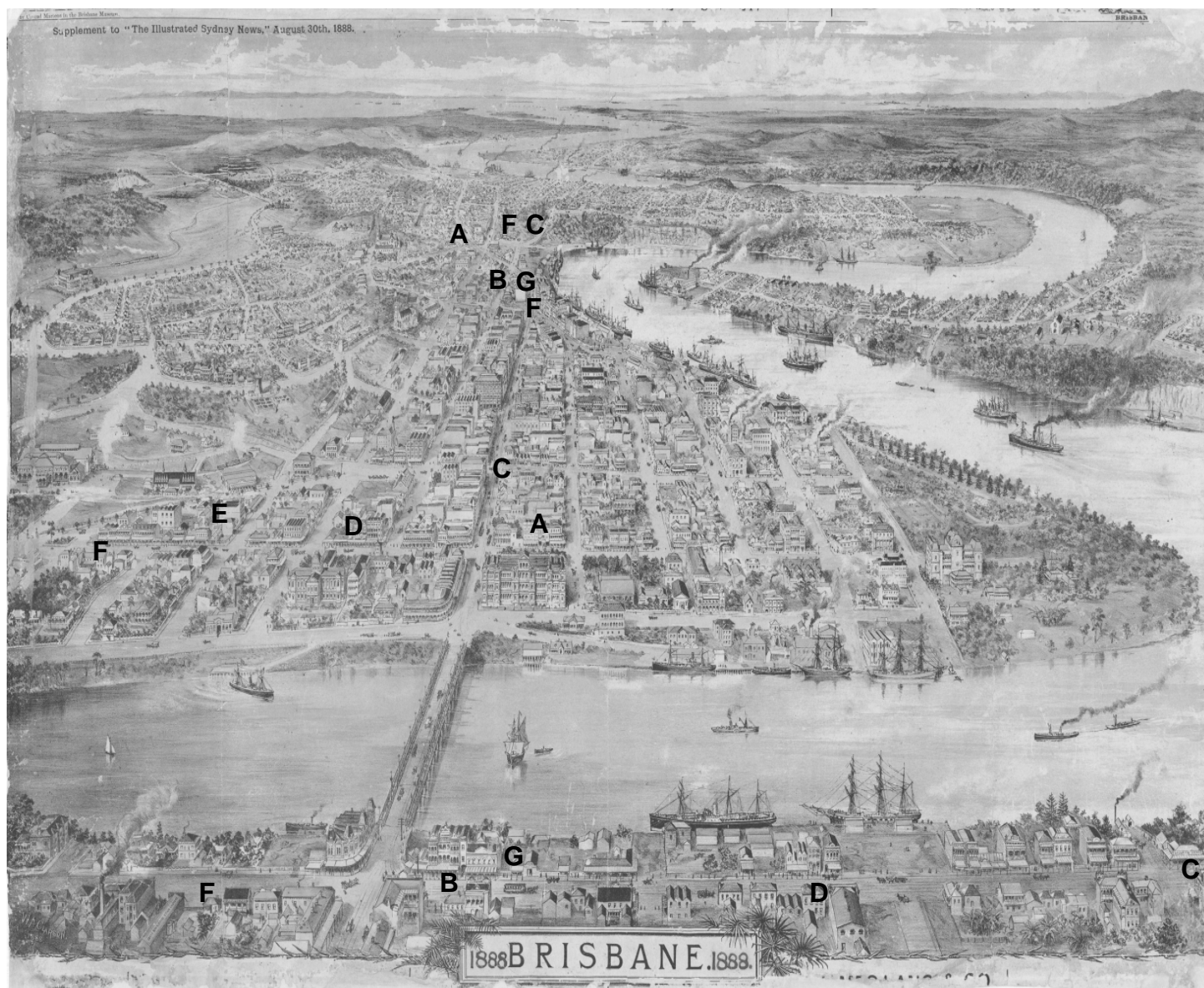
Table 30 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of 'timeliness' from advertisements placed in the *Brisbane Courier* 1859 - 1901

Vocabulary item	Unique Instances
Prompt / promptitude / promptly	6
Punctual / punctuality / punctually	4
Shortest notice	2
Efficiency	1
Immediate	1
Despatch	1

Location and reach

In the first year of operation (1861), Ebenston advertised the barest facts about the nature and location of business and no attributes regarding the conduct of the business (*Moreton Bay Courier* 13 April 1861:1). His next advertisements vary only in the description of the location of the business; the description alternated between “Opposite Wesleyan Chapel” (*Courier* 25 September 1862:4) and Albert Street (*Courier* 15 November 1862:1). During this period Brisbane’s streets were not numbered, so the undertakers had to specify their address with the assistance of a landmark; a prominent building, well-known business or street intersection. For a number of years Joshua Ebenston advertised that he was located “four doors from Town Hall, Queen-street” (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 3 October 1865:1). When John Hislop started his own firm, he announced he was located on “Refuge Row, Queen-street, next to Mr. Jost’s butchering establishment” (*Brisbane Courier* 7 August 1869:1). Short-lived firm Anderson and Shepherd were located “Albert-street, corner of Charlotte street” (*Courier* 4 December 1863:3). John Smith was forced to clarify the location he gave in his very first advertisement within a fortnight. Initially he advertised that he was located “Elizabeth-street, nearly opposite the Cathedral” (*Brisbane Courier* 12 February 1883:1) which he amended to “Elizabeth-street, opposite Catholic Cathedral” (*Brisbane Courier* 28 February 1883:1) as potential clients must have been looking for him opposite St John’s Anglican Pro-Cathedral, also in Elizabeth Street. The advent of street numbers two years later made advertising easier with J.&J. Hislop now able to concisely give their address as “71 and 73 Queen-street” (*Brisbane Courier* 16 September 1885:2) although a number of firms persisted with descriptive address advertising e.g. Cannon & Cripps giving their address as “Wickham-street, near Gipps-street” (*Brisbane Courier* 2 June 1900:1).

In the 1850s and early 1860s, each undertaker had a single establishment in the commercial heart of Brisbane bounded by George, Ann, Albert and Charlotte Streets. The exception was John and George Barney Petrie operating from the eponymously named Petrie’s Bight, located between the central business district and Fortitude Valley. After five years in business, Joshua Ebenston became the first of Brisbane’s undertakers to establish a branch office in the booming Fortitude Valley “near the Royal George Hotel, corner of Brunswick and Ann Streets” (*Brisbane Courier* 30 January 1866:1).



- A** K.M. Smith
- B** W.H. Hancock
- C** John Hislop
- D** James Hislop
- E** Sillett & Barrett
- F** Cannon & Cripps
- G** Petrie's Bight Undertaking Establishment

Figure 28 Location of Brisbane's undertakers c.1890 extracted from advertisements in the *Brisbane Courier* (Map: SLQ 742333)

It was another twenty years before the undertakers expanded across the Brisbane River to the thriving commercial district of South Brisbane, even though two major public cemeteries (South Brisbane and Balmoral) had been established in the early 1870s (Fisher 1994:viii). W.H. Hancock was the first to establish a branch office on the south side of the river in July 1885 as John Smith recorded in his diary “Hancock took lease of Watt & Hoppers [sic] place Stanley St SB for 3 yrs to start a Branch shop” (J. Smith 1885:10).

As the city of Brisbane spread to absorb once separate settlements (e.g. Toowong), the undertakers also expanded their operations. In 1896, John Hislop, in addition to his Queen Street head office, established a network of agents which included his son William, reaching further into the suburbs “West End, Wm Carter’s; Woolloongabba, J. A. Neilson’s; Valley, Wm. Hislop’s” (*Brisbane Courier* 12 March 1896:1). (West End, Woolloongabba and Fortitude Valley are suburbs to the east, south and north respectively.) Undertakers also placed advertisements in the local newspapers of surrounding districts in a radius of 35 kilometres (20 miles). For example, In 1893 John Hislop placed a display advertisement illustrating his new English-made hearse in the *Logan and Albert Advocate*, a four-page weekly newspaper (*Logan and Albert Advocate* 23 September 1893:4). Brisbane’s undertakers had to convey the message that they were willing to travel from the city to conduct funerals in outer suburban areas (Table 31) thus dissuading potential clients from using the services of small undertakers who operated on the outskirts of Greater Brisbane (e.g. W.F. Lyon at Oxley and J.G. Lohrisch at Beenleigh, Nolan (2009:xiii).

Table 31 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of ‘reach’ from advertisements placed in the *Brisbane Courier* 1859 - 1901

Vocabulary item	Unique Instances
Town and Country	2
Brisbane and neighbourhood	1
Brisbane and suburbs	1
Brisbane and surrounding districts	1

Availability and Convenience

By the 1880s most of Brisbane’s undertakers operated at least two offices for the convenience of their bereaved; a head office where the proprietor or manager lived and branch offices to conduct business and this distinction was reflected in the opening hours. For example, John Smith advertised “Elizabeth-Street, opposite Catholic Cathedral (open daytime only); and “George-Street (open all hours)” where the family lived (*Brisbane Courier* 28 February 1883:1). John Hislop’s office was open day and night which would

have raised overheads for the undertaker if this duty was not performed by the firm's family members and staff were paid instead (*Brisbane Courier* 10 December 1879:5). John Hislop also advertised "Special arrangements made for Private Funeral from Hospitals or those taken charge by the Police" (*Brisbane Courier* 4 March 1896:1) thereby relieving the bereaved of potentially unpleasant interactions with the authorities. Hancock and Corbett stated that it was their intention "to personally attend to the wants of our Constituents at all hours" (*Brisbane Courier* 2 June 1884:1). From the mid-1860s, undertakers commenced to advertise their availability around the clock (Table 32).

Table 32 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of 'availability' from advertisements placed in the *Brisbane Courier* 1859 - 1901.

Vocabulary item	Unique Instances
Open Day and Night	7
Open all hours	3
Attend ... at all hours	1
Orders Day or Night	1

To make night time visits to the undertakers easier, the firms had large lamps which hung over their doors. One is visible on the South Brisbane branch office of Petrie's Bight Undertaking Establishment (Figure 19). John Hislop is photographed standing underneath another in Figure 25.

The arrival of the telephone in Brisbane would have been an innovation welcomed by the undertakers. J.&J. Hislop were the first to advertise that they had a telephone in September 1885 (*Brisbane Courier* 16 September 1885:2). In December 1885, John Smith obtained a telephone for his new branch office under construction at Wickham Street, Fortitude Valley: "Gave order to Quinlan Gray & Co for 2nd telephone £6-10-0" (J. Smith 1885:18). The Trustees of the Brisbane General Cemetery had obtained a telephone in 1882 for the convenience of the undertakers as the Trustees Secretary was located in the central business district and arrangements could be made there instead of traveling the five kilometres to the cemetery at Toowong (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1924:14).

Economy

Six months after taking over his business, Ebenston advertised the attribute of economy for the first time as "charges moderate" (*Courier* 15 November 1862:1). In August 1863, Ebenston predominantly uses phrases pertaining to cost "strict attention to economy" and "respectability at moderate charges" (*Courier* 1 August 1863:6). For the benefit of the "public", funerals were conducted with a single (i.e. one horse drawn) hearse at the "lowest rate" (*Courier* 21 April 1863:4). Faced with stiff competition from the new entrant Francis

Murray who promised to deliver funerals “at a COST of FIFTY PER CENT BELOW the terms of ANY OF THE HOUSES IN TOWN” (*Brisbane Courier* 5 March 1866:1), Ebenston was prepared to give “THE LOWEST PRICES EVER YET OFFERED” (*Brisbane Courier* 8 March 1866:1). Murray threw down the gauntlet again at the end of 1870 when he published a price list of funeral packages (Figure 29).

ECONOMY AND RESPECTABILITY IN FUNERALS.			
F. MURRAY, UNDERTAKER, QUEEN-STREET, BRISBANE,			
IS prepared to conduct FUNERALS to suit the circumstances of all parties, at the prices named:—			
Best Hearse, with full-mounted Coffin, advertising, &c.	£4	0	0
Funeral with Second-class Hearse, &c.	3	0	0
Children, with best Mourning Coach, &c.	2	0	0
Ditto, with Second-class ditto, &c.	1	10	0
These prices include all charges and fees. 5980			

Figure 29 Murray’s published price list (*Brisbane Courier* 31 December 1870:1)

The early to mid-1870s saw changes in the ownership of the three firms with the death of Murray, the retirement of Petrie and Ebenston supplanted by one of his employees, James Hislop. Hislop also traded on economy with funerals “performed at the lowest possible price” (*Brisbane Courier* 1 January 1874:1). Presumably this price would have included a profit margin of some description. The wording of William Walsh’s advertisement in 1877 is ambiguous “Funerals First-class and at Moderate Prices” (*Brisbane Courier* 2 November 1877:1).

In 1879 Walsh advertised the cost of a full funeral package for the first time since Murray in 1870 (*Brisbane Courier* 10 December 1879:5). In the intervening decade, the cost of a funeral at the Class One end of the market had more than doubled. Both undertakers are advertising their services to “all classes of the community” but Hislop offered “prices to suit” whereas Walsh promised “the lowest prices” (*Brisbane Courier* 10 December 1879:5).

During the mid-1890s, Queensland was suffering a financial depression (Fitzgerald 1982:151). John Hislop “decided to REDUCE the PRICES of all Classes of Funerals to suite (sic.) the present depressed times” (*Brisbane Courier* 29 November 1895:1). Furthermore, Hislop advertised “No extra charge for plumes” (*Brisbane Courier* 4 March

1896:1). Sillett & Barrett also advertised funerals “to suit all classes of the community, at the Very Lowest Possible Charges” (*Brisbane Courier* 4 March 1896:1).

Table 33 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of ‘economy’ from advertisements placed in the *Brisbane Courier* 1859 - 1901

Vocabulary item	Unique Instances
Moderate	15
Lowest	14
Nominal	3
Liberal	2
Economy	1

‘Cheap’ and its derivatives do not appear at all (Table 33), no doubt due to its negative connotations and the taint of pauperism. As it is the survivors who pay for the funeral, they certainly would not like to give the impression of cheapness, which could be construed as callousness, in regard to the treatment of their dead.

Quality and prestige

Through the latter half of the 1860s, the undertaking business appeared very stable with little variation evident in the advertisements placed to those shown above. It was not until December 1870 that Murray again disturbed the status quo by advertising his price list (*Brisbane Courier* 31 December 1870:1). Murray continued to market the attributes of economy and respectability but on this occasion, the cost of respectability was transparent. Murray further amplified the distinction between first and second class funerals at a time when there was no distinction between grave classes (see Chapter Five). The ploy engaged by Murray was to convince the bereaved that for the sake of an extra pound for adults or ten shillings for children, they could give their loved one a “first-class” send-off (*Brisbane Courier* 31 December 1870:1).

‘First-class’ and ‘best’ were recurrent in the undertakers’ advertisements (Table 34), no doubt intended to inspire to the aspirational tendencies of their lower class clientele.

Table 34 Summary the vocabulary for the attribute of ‘quality’ from advertisements placed in the *Brisbane Courier* 1859 - 1901

Vocabulary item	Unique Instances
First-class	7
Best	6
Finest	3
Prestige	2
Real	2
Second to none	2
Most approved	1
Splendid	1

In 1896 Sillett & Barrett had “built of order a hearse of the latest design which makes their Plant second to none in the Southern Hemisphere” (*Brisbane Courier* 4 March 1896:1). In the same column John Hislop advised that he was in possession of the “FINEST PLANT in the SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE”. Ebenston appeals to the ‘gentry’ with promises of a ‘first-class hearse’ and funerals conducted in the ‘most approved style’ (*Courier* 21 April 1863:4) implying that the norms of etiquette which prevailed in the United Kingdom would be adhered to in the colony.

Walter Barrett, who had succeeded George Barney Petrie and continued to trade using the Petrie name, placed his own advertisement which took a subservient tone with the use of phrases such as “begs to thank”, “their esteemed patronage”, “every wish of his patrons”, “faithfully carried out”, “desires to inform” indicating that Barrett was attempting to win the favour of the “Clergy and Gentry” (*Brisbane Courier* 28 January 1880:6). Barrett informed “that section of the community” that he also could supply plumes. Barrett’s only concession to the lower classes was that his “charges for all classes of funerals will compare favourably” (*Brisbane Courier* 28 January 1880:6). Hancock and Corbett stated their aim was to uphold “the prestige so long accorded to our predecessors” and that they “respectfully solicit a share of your patronage” (*Brisbane Courier* 2 June 1884:1). By using humble language, Hancock and Corbett were elevating the status of their potential clients and appealing to their aspirations.

Dignity and respectability

In 1883 when John Smith became a fulltime undertaker, he advertised that he was “in a position to furnish Funerals with the utmost respectability” (*Brisbane Courier* 12 February 1883:1). That it took so long for this attribute to appear in advertisements in Brisbane is somewhat surprising. The terms “dignity” and “decency” are unexpectedly absent from the corpus. A possible explanation is that even the worse Brisbane institutional funeral was more dignified than the British pauper funerals that many of Brisbane’s residents may have witnessed prior to migration.

Directory advertising

While newspaper advertisements diminished in size and detail by the end of the 1890s, the undertakers found a more cost-effective outlet for display advertisements in the directories which were issued annually by a number of competing publishers. Costing £1/1/- in 1893 (*Brisbane Courier* 22 April 1893:2) the directories (variously referred to as post office or official directories) were expensive and therefore could only be purchased by the more affluent sector of the population. Therefore, the undertakers could afford to invest

in a display advertisement tailored specifically to this market segment (Figure 30) and advertise a wide array of goods and services.

For John Hislop, the message he was conveying was that through his personal supervision all facets of the funeral were of the highest order, emphasising his 34 years of industry experience. Orders were executed promptly by every means of communication then available and at any time of the day or night which was convenient to the consumer. Hislop obviously prided himself on his plant, which he ensured potential clients, was top quality and well maintained. Industry innovations such as embalming, a mortuary chapel and funeral parlour are included, as are the provision of floral tributes. The 1890s marked the period in which coffins of polished expensive timber started to supplant cloth covered coffins. Brisbane consumers presumably are aware that registered coffin furniture was more expensive than the common designs and therefore added more prestige to the coffin.

In the same edition of the *Queensland Official Directory* (1900) that the advertisement for John Hislop appeared, the only other display advertisement was placed by Sophie Miller (Figure 31). For the life of the firm, Miller, unlike Mrs O'Rourke, did not give any indication of her sex. This is the first incidence of the term 'funeral director' in any advertisement in Brisbane. The term started to appear in the southern colonies from January 1894 (e.g. advertisements placed by Sydney's Wood & Co. in *Freeman's Journal* 6 January 1894:12). Miller demonstrated that she was aware of trends from elsewhere even though she did not adopt the term in her newspaper advertising. John Hislop was the first to start using the term in newspaper advertisements in April 1902 (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 29 April 1902:4).

EVERYTHING IS FIRST CLASS

That is performed by

HISLOP'S

EMBALMING AND . .

Undertaking Establishment,

For better value there never were. This is the opinion of all my clients from
FAR AND NEAR.

ORDER BY MAIL, TELEGRAPH, OR TELEPHONE EXECUTED PROMPTLY
AT ANY HOUR OF THE DAY OR NIGHT.

. . MY OFFICES ARE NEVER CLOSED. . .

PRIVATE MORTUARY ROOM
and
FUNERAL PARLOUR:
Peel Street South, BRISBANE.



Branches:
Boundary Street, West End.
Head Office:
16, Queen Street, BRISBANE.

ALWAYS ON DUTY. EVERYTHING KEPT IN GOOD ORDER.

EVERY FUNERAL REQUISITE

can be obtained at my Establishment.

COFFINS in Cedar or Oak, Polished & Mounted in Silver & Gold.

COFFINS covered and trimmed in Registered Designs.

Wreaths, Crosses, Coffin furniture and Trimmings of every Description.

I possess the **FINEST PLANT** in the **SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.** My clients can rely on receiving every attention, as all **FUNERALS** are **PERSONALLY CONDUCTED** by myself, who for **34 YEARS** have devoted my time and experience to this business.

JOHN HISLOP, Embalmer & Furnishing Undertaker.

HEAD OFFICE:

No. 16, QUEEN STREET, opposite Town Hall, BRISBANE.

TELEPHONE No. 205.

Figure 30 Variations of this display advertisement by John Hislop ran annually in the *Queensland Official Directory* from 1894 to 1905

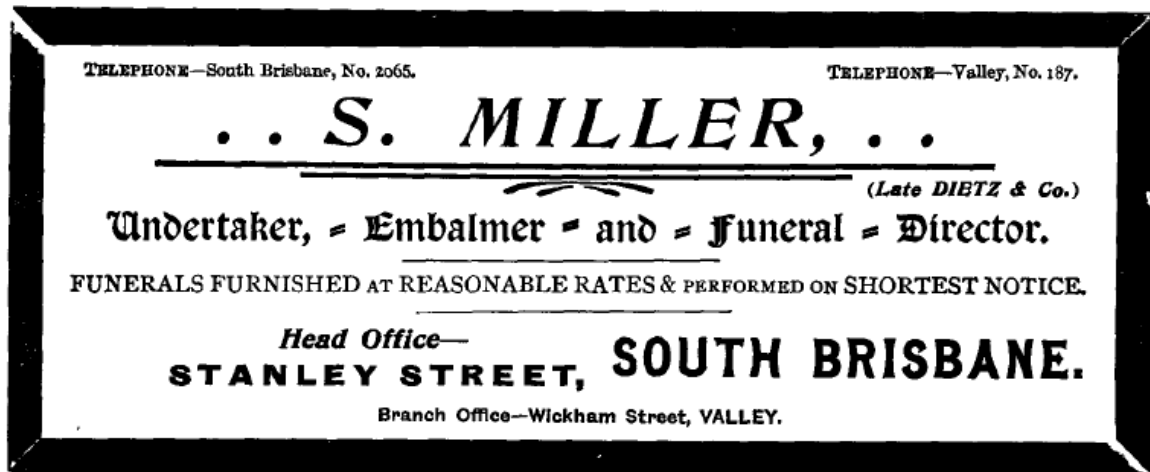


Figure 31 Advertisement for Sophie Miller (*Queensland Official Directory* 1900:57)

Conclusion

Brisbane's undertakers needed to make a profit in order to support themselves and their families. Over the study period, the composition of their businesses changed from being a self-contained manufacturer and service provider to a multi-faceted business with a significant retail component. However, unlike other retailers, the undertakers' need to make a profit was viewed as sinister, exploiting their clients while they were in an emotionally vulnerable state. However, their clients, as consumers of funerary goods and services, were driven by other forces, such as the desire to conform or aspiration, and did have the choice of what and how much to purchase. The critics of the undertakers may not have been fully aware of the financial risks which plagued the industry including economic depression, bad debts, expensive plant, extensive inventory and considerable operating overheads. Added to this the occasional unsavoury nature of their work, the unsocial hours and the public expectation to be always available, undertaking was not a business which was entered into lightly. Those who focused solely on the promise of profits soon failed. In order to survive, undertakers became innovative, responding to the changes in fashion and meeting the demand to provide consumer goods in the late Victorian era.





Chapter Eight – Modelling funerary consumption

There were three distinct classes of consumers of funerary goods in 19th century Brisbane; individuals, institutions and intermediaries and the funerary choices made by each were presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven respectively. Foremost of the consumers were the bereaved individuals who were required to make many consumer decisions concerning a funeral in the short interval between death and burial. For the friends and relatives of an individual who died in an institution, these choices were constrained by a legislative and regulatory framework imposed on and by the institution. Both individual and institutional consumers made their funerary purchases from an intermediary, the undertaker, who influenced their purchasing decisions, while those choices were in turn shaped by the social mores of the era (Griffin and Tobin 1997:23-4).

The majority of studies in the field of Victorian era funeral and burial studies have focussed on the funerary consumption of the very rich because it constituted a grand spectacle (e.g. Curl 1971:2-8); the very poor because it appalled the sensibility of the middle class (e.g. Barnard 2009:39-40); or the other, the circumstances of their death and burial being outside the social norm of the times thus eliciting comment and documentation (Brown-May and Cooke 2004). The vast proportion of consumption in monetary terms was by the members of the burgeoning middle classes whose fastidious consumption has not been treated in much detail, possibly as it was so 'normal'. The record of their consumption is largely silent.

Previous studies of death in institutions have mainly focussed on causes of death and mortality statistics, generally ignoring what became of the corpse after death (except as a commodity for anatomists (e.g. Richardson 2001)). The consumption of goods and services by Brisbane's institutions has not previously been treated in much detail, probably due to the incomplete and fragmented nature of the records pertaining to them. Much of the research conducted on the intermediaries, has been descriptive in nature and has not dwelt on their consumption of goods and services, the relationship they had with individual and institutional consumers, and the influence they exerted on the purchasing choices made by others.

Influences on individual choices

The individual consumer is influenced by the values of those around them such as their close circle of family, friends, neighbours and colleagues, which form part of the normative reference group described by Schiffman *et al.* (2014:289). For colonial Brisbane residents, these broad values included the dignified disposal of the dead in a coffin by burial. For example, when Private Jones, a native of Hawaii, died in the Brisbane Hospital in August 1861, his comrades from the No. 1 Company of Volunteers intervened to provide him with a fitting funeral. "The funeral throughout was highly creditable; the gravity displayed in the procession, and the true soldierly feeling evinced by both officers and men in rescuing the remains of their comrade from a pauper's funeral, will speak better for the volunteer cause than the gaudiest uniform" (*Courier* 2 August 1861:3).

The individual consumer is also influenced by comparing themselves to distant others in the social elite who they aspire to be like. Schiffman *et al.* (2014:674) define the comparative reference group as a benchmark influencing specific consumer decisions in a narrow range of behaviour. Aspirational members of a lower ranking group adopt the funerary products and services of the rich and famous knowing that they still will not be granted membership to that elite group.

Reverend Frederick Lawrence spoke at the city's [Oxford] Corn Exchange the previous Tuesday about the need for burial reform. He complained that the rich were influencing the poor to spend more than they could afford on unnecessary mourning paraphernalia. Instead, Lawrence argued for economy in burial and criticized current funeral practices (*Brisbane Courier* 11 January 1890:4).

The rigid stratification of Victorian era society in the United Kingdom, while still predominant in Brisbane, did allow some upward movement for those who acquired financial capital in the new colony but not necessarily the social capital. An expensive funeral was a highly visible way of displaying one's wealth and status in Brisbane, where the rules of what constituted acceptable behaviour by each social class were still being formulated by normative reference groups. For example, despite his humble origins, mercantile agent with brewing and real estate interests (*Queenslander* 6 July 1878:444) Michael Quinlan's funeral in July 1878 was described as the grandest funeral of a private individual as yet seen in the city of Brisbane (*Telegraph* 4 July 1878:3). Canadian-born Quinlan was the eldest son of Irish Barrack Sergeant Michael Quinlan (Senior) and had lived in five countries before arriving in Queensland in 1862 aged 23 (Queensland Death Certificate 1878/B12331).

Apart from those who arrived as convicts, the majority of immigrants to colonial Queensland could be described in today's parlance as economic migrants and the motivation to succeed in the new colony was a powerful incentive. Therefore burial in a paupers' grave in Brisbane could symbolise the ultimate failure for the individual. Whereas in the United Kingdom social class and economic conditions beyond the control of the labouring individual may have made the paupers' grave inevitable; by emigrating, the lower classes were attempting to take control of their own financial futures and have access to resources which hitherto would have been unavailable to them. In short, migrants were not only coming to Queensland for a better life but in the hope of a better death. For the married working man, having one's child buried in a paupers' grave marked his failure as the family's economic provider. It was sheer poverty which caused this to be more likely to occur because families frequently went without food to pay for the unplanned (but not unexpected) expense of the death of a child. To avoid this eventuality, many poorer families paid weekly into burial clubs, primarily but not exclusively, conducted in Queensland by fraternal and friendly societies as discussed in Chapter Four.

Charles Dickens campaigned against the predatory practices of undertakers who routinely priced funerals to equal the amount of the burial club or insurance payout, inferring collusion between these parties. Waters (2008) demonstrated how effectively Dickens used his weekly journal *Household Words*, which he published for nearly a decade from 1850, to criticise and satirise the role of the undertaker in Victorian society and the financial misery they inflicted upon the lower classes. In the edition of 6th June 1850, Dickens penned a satirical piece entitled "From the raven in the happy family" which describes how undertakers used reference to another bereaved family in the same street to upsell a simple funeral of a hearse with pair to a hearse with four horses and plumes (Dickens 1850). In this often cited passage, Dickens shows how the undertaker uses an informal reference group, i.e. Widow Grundy at "number twenty" to influence a specific consumer's purchasing behaviour as the recently bereaved family in the story would have to face Widow Grundy in the street at regular intervals (Blythe 2013:219).

Dickens reserved particular contempt for the State funeral of the Duke of Wellington in November 1852, concerned by the amount of paraphernalia it would spawn (Dickens 1852:140). Dickens' friend Justice Alfred Lutwyche did not leave for the Australian colonies until June 1853 (*Brisbane Courier* 24 October 1931:24), so he may have been one of Dickens *Household Words* subscribers and certainly would have had access to newspaper reportage of Wellington's funeral if he did not attend it himself. On his death in 1880,

Justice Lutwyche was entitled to the type of State funeral abhorred by Dickens and their friendship influenced the choices he made about his funeral even after an interval of nearly 30 years since the controversy over Wellington's obsequies. As shown in Chapter Five Lutwyche was an adherent to the funeral reform movement. The opinion of friends is an important influence in determining the types of products ultimately selected (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:292). This friendship was a stronger influence than the normative influences of the colony. When this normality was deviated from, Justice Lutwyche's funeral then became the subject of journalistic interest and the descriptions of this and other such funerals of the funeral reform movement were often prefaced with the phrase "in accordance with his own expressed wish" (e.g. *Queenslander* 19 June 1880:788) to indicate this departure from the social norm.

The importance of analysing all extant documentary sources (Orser 2004a:19) to infer social status is particularly important in light of colonial Queensland's de-identified census data. Crook (1958:Appendix IIIA) classified the occupations in the 1881 census into social classes based on a labour hierarchy. There were some inherent difficulties as some occupations, e.g. draper, did not distinguish between the principal of the business and the employees. However, it is a serviceable tool for enumerating the membership of each class in Brisbane's social hierarchy. When combined with cemetery grave class data for 1885, Crook's occupational data produced the expected result for Class One graves but not for Classes Two or Three (see Table 19).

Class Two grave purchasers encompassed a variety of occupations that may not have been intuitively associated with private grave ownership. It is only through cross referencing the burials with other extant documentary sources such as undertakers' records and newspaper reports that more accurate data may be obtained to explain the discrepancies which appear in the data. For example, it is not expected that an unskilled domestic worker should be able to afford a private grave. However, a deeper investigation of the individual concerned, Joseph Rowe, shows that he probably had the income to fund the purchase of a private grave. Rowe gave his occupation as Head Waiter at Lennon's Hotel to undertaker K.M. Smith in May 1885 when arranging the funeral of his nine month old son who had died of diphtheria (K.M. Smith 1885:143). Under the census occupations, waiters and waitresses are classed as "Un-skilled domestic" with little or no account taken of experience, length of service or relative seniority (Crook 1958:3.13). Rowe had been working at Lennon's Hotel from at least 1883 (*Brisbane Courier* 1 February 1883:5) to

1889 (*Brisbane Courier* 16 February 1889:3) when he gave evidence on both occasions of fraud being perpetrated on the hotel by its guests. From the nature of the evidence, it would appear that Rowe was acting more in a junior managerial role performing duties beyond the dining room and perhaps should have been classified as a white collar worker in the census data.

Further individuals were accorded Class Two burials which their occupational status would not have suggested as being feasible, mainly due to the tragic circumstances of their deaths. For example, John Smith records in his diary for November 16th attending to the mangled corpse of labourer Robert Walker who was crushed between two rollers in an unguarded machine at the Queensland Brick and Tile Manufactory (J. Smith 1885:17). Walker left his wife and four children unprovided for prompting an appeal in the local newspapers (*Logan Witness* 21 November 1885:3). Walker's funeral was paid for by his employer and included interment in a Class Two grave (K.M. Smith 1885:82).

Having access to a large circle of acquaintances also defrayed funeral costs and allowed for the purchase of a higher grave class than could otherwise be afforded. In December 1885, a subscription was collected from the audience at Smith's Theatre, Brisbane City, to pay for the burial in a Class Two grave of 22 year-old Elizabeth Beevers, the wife of the theatre's carpenter (K.M. Smith 1885:102). The converse is also true. Those responsible for the payment of 21% of Class Three burials belonged to the upper social classes, i.e. white collar workers, business proprietors and professionals (see Table 19). When these are correlated with the age of the deceased from the funeral order books, over 50% of these burials overall were for children under the age of five. The sole professional status burial represented was that of the 9 month old illegitimate son of a music teacher (K.M. Smith 1885:75). For the occupation of 'grocer' three of the four burials were of infants. The adult burial was for 57-year-old Thomas Mellor, whose grocer son paid for the burial in instalments (K.M. Smith 1885:99). These groceries were probably very small concerns, employing only the principal and his wife (Crook 1958:3.8).

The census classification of 'clerk' also encompasses a wide degree of pay scales from junior clerks to quite senior civil servants. The number of clerks employed in government service rose steadily from 180 in 1881, 364 in 1886, to 520 in 1891, while bank officers and commercial clerks constituted the main element of the white collar classification, totalling 369 in 1881 and peaking at 874 in 1886 (Crook 1958:3.6). Therefore it is

unsurprising that the burials in this occupation are spread across the three grave classes with the burials paid for by junior clerks occupying the Class Three graves.

The sex of the deceased seemed to have played little part in the funerary consumption expended on them (see Table 20). Up to the age of five years, the expenditure was identical. Slight differences begin to emerge for older children, but these can be accounted for greater variation in the length of the coffin purchased. The findings made by Pine and Phillips (1970:410) that widows paid more for the funerals of their husbands than widowers on their late wives, did not emerge in the Brisbane data. Pine and Phillips' data included substantial payments made to the bereaved from life insurance policies, which other than payments made by friendly societies outlined in Chapter Four, had yet to penetrate the Queensland funeral marketplace.

Influences on institutional choices

Most studies into institutional buyer behaviour have been conducted in the corporate sector, identifying how for-profit organisations make purchase decisions when purchasing from suppliers. Less has been written about the purchasing behaviour of the non-profit sector. Although a number of general models were proposed in the 1970s showing the external and internal factors which influence the organisational purchasing decisions (e.g. Webster and Wind 1972), no single model adequately covers the purchasing choices made by primarily not-for-profit institutions such as public hospitals.

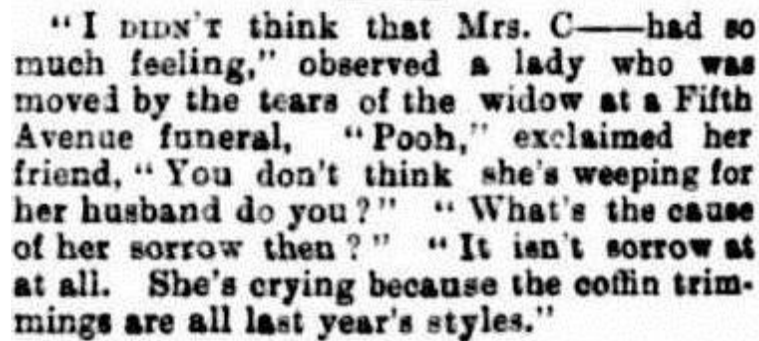
As described by Jaakkola (2007), institutional consumers are accountable to those who supply the funding to the institution. In the case of the Brisbane Hospital and other similar institutions, it was the subscribers who perused the accounts at the annual general meetings, looking for ways in which costs could be contained without compromising medical care. As detailed in Chapter Six, the cost of hospital-funded funerals was constantly under review; with changes made to eligibility and the service provided in order to reduce the expense while maintaining the minimum level of decency demanded by society. Although the parochial workhouse system was not instituted in colonial Queensland, it can be argued that the long-term care of destitute infirm, aged and hopeless medical cases by the Brisbane Hospital in the 1860s performed the equivalent function. A sharp distinction was made by the hospital between the deserving poor who might be cured and be able to contribute to society again who were cared for in the hospital as charitable cases, and the vagrant poor who were consigned to the Dunwich Benevolent Asylum on North Stradbroke Island (Evans 1969:149).

For this reason, it is appropriate to discuss the funerary choices made by the Brisbane Hospital for its deceased deserving poor through the lens of the burial practices of contemporary English workhouses. Prior to the *Poor Law Amendment Act* (1834) there was little to distinguish paupers buried at the expense of the parish in their local churchyard and others from low socio-economic backgrounds (Richardson 2001:274). Prior to 1834 the poor were seen by society as victims of wider social and economic conditions and their relief and comfort was seen as a Christian Duty. Post-1834 the attitude towards the urban poor, in particular, had hardened with the growing view that the poor were largely responsible for their own situation, which they could change if they chose to do so (Higginbotham 2011:19-20). This was reflected in the workhouses' burial practices where "a new death ritual was created which propagated and reinforced the notion that to die in poverty was an unpardonable social offence" (Richardson 2001:274). An institutional burial was stripped of any vestiges of dignity, not only as a cost cutting measure but also as a deterrent against entering the workhouse in the first place. The English workhouse poor were often buried naked covered by only paper or a strip of calico, lying on a bed of sawdust in shoddily made un-planed coffins. Relatives had no say in the timing or location of the burial, and the poor were consigned to common graves with coffins stacked up to twenty deep (Richardson 2001:274). Whether in a British Workhouse or an Australian institution, the death of an inmate or a patient was managed essentially in the same manner; as cheaply as possible without much regard to maintaining the dignity and identity of the dead and indifferent to the emotional needs of the survivors (Jalland 2002:215-8). Although pauper burial conditions in Brisbane were not as grim as those described above, those who administered the Brisbane Hospital were recent arrivals from the United Kingdom and these internalised experiences would have undoubtedly shaped the choices made by them.

Influences on intermediary choices

To meet the changing demands of their clientele, the undertakers were engaged in continuous innovation beginning in the late 18th century. "Innovation is one of the best ways to build market share and, in turn, market share is directly related to return on investment" (Maital and Seshadri 2012:17). This was particularly true of the funeral business. As funerals became more elaborate throughout the Victorian era, industry entry costs rose commensurately. Hearses, horses and inventory had to be managed in an industry where cash-flow (contrary to popular opinion) was not guaranteed. In his 1885 diary, John Smith recorded bad debts, periods of idleness exacerbated by the arrival of

new competition, and a stable of six black horses which still had to be fed daily. Smith introduced new lines of coffin furniture, direct from the manufacturer in Birmingham, presumably to generate fresh interest (J. Smith 1885:4-18). As described in Chapter Seven, the coffin, its furniture and decoration regularly changed with the dictates of fashion (Figure 32).



"I DIDN'T think that Mrs. C——had so much feeling," observed a lady who was moved by the tears of the widow at a Fifth Avenue funeral, "Pooh," exclaimed her friend, "You don't think she's weeping for her husband do you?" "What's the cause of her sorrow then?" "It isn't sorrow at all. She's crying because the coffin trimmings are all last year's styles."

Figure 32 Excessive funerary consumption was frequently ridiculed in the press (*North Eastern Ensign*. Victoria. 5 September 1884:2)

Undertakers had to be particularly aware of the proclivities of the population to whom they were marketing. Failure to accurately predict consumer demand could leave a large quantity of unsold stock on their hands with a subsequent loss of profit. Writing under the *nom-de-plume* "Sable Plume" the editor of the journal of the British Undertakers Association advised:

if trading in a district where Roman Catholics or members of the High Church abound, then stock [coffin] furniture with texts of Scripture stamped thereon and a cross. If, on the other hand, you are in a Dissenting district, these descriptions will be useless. I have known instances where dissenting families have taken their work elsewhere owing to an undertaker using furniture of the cross design and vice versa (Sable Plume n.d.:26).

Kate Smith meticulously detailed the religious denomination of the deceased to ensure that the coffin was ornamented appropriately (e.g. Smith 1900:17-8).

Consumer influence on innovation

Individual and intermediary consumers played a role in the adoption (or rejection) of funerary innovation and the diffusion of successful innovations. In the general market place "an innovation is rejected by consumers if they do not see the need for the product or service" (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:537). However, it can be argued that the consumption of funerary goods is a different case. Once the minimum requirements for burial as prescribed by the normative reference group are met, all other expenditure is

discretionary. Critics suggested undertakers invented goods for the bereaved to buy as optional extras. For example, writing in 1896, Isabella Holmes noted:

The whole funeral system is an extravagant imposition, and has been for years. It may be said that the heavy trappings, the plumes, the scarves &c. are going out of fashion but other things are taking their place. I saw the other day a neat little copy of the Burial Service, bound with black leather, with a cross outside. On the fly leaf was printed the name of the person to be buried, with the date of death, place of interment &c. This book was given by the undertaker to each of those who attended the funeral, and as the ceremony was conducted by a Nonconformist minister, who arranged it in accordance with his own individual predilection, the little book was useless! I merely mention this as a specimen of the way in which the expenses of a modern funeral may be mounted up (Holmes 1896:257).

The undertakers counteracted by arguing that they were simply meeting consumer demand and if no one wanted a particular item, there would be no need to go to the trouble of procuring and stocking the goods (Griffin and Tobin 1997:168).

Marketing literature emphasises the importance of style leaders as drivers of demand in discretionary consumption. These are usually the early adopters of new products and innovations who diffuse them to wider society (Clark and Goldsmith 2005). However, the determination of who the style leaders were that influenced the funerary practice which was transmitted to Queensland is problematic. Many writers (e.g. Curl 1972, May 2008) infer that the excessive consumption of funerary paraphernalia commenced with Queen Victoria. However, many of the superfluous funerary rituals and goods (e.g. plumes, feather boards etc.) were already entrenched before the commencement of Victoria's reign in 1837 (Litten 2002:21). Victoria, herself, was a consumer of the funerary goods which were already on the market in 1861. "[Albert's] portraits, each draped in black crape, decorated every wall and tabletop ... the result was that Osborne soon came to look like an undertakers' stock list" (Packard 2000:24). While it is generally acknowledged that Victoria's widowhood and extended mourning for Albert was excessive (Wilson 2003:243-4), it should be noted that with a family the size of Victoria's, punctuated with deaths at regular intervals, the need to place the royal court into complementary mourning was almost continuous towards the end of her reign (Wolffe 2000:213-15). When it came to her own funeral Victoria had decreed that it was to be conducted with as little pomp as possible and most of the paraphernalia associated with a Victorian era burial was absent (Packard 2000:166).

It was the women of the burgeoning middle classes, especially those whose husbands had made their money from mercantile, craft or professional activities who were the style

makers and innovation drivers. Freed from the necessity of working for a living or having to do housework, middle class women were able to venture outside of the domestic sphere and engage in an activity which was starting to become socially acceptable from the 1860s: shopping (Wilson 2003:409-10). Whereas shopping had previously been simply a means of acquiring goods and services for the household, shopping became a pastime during which women, now highly visible, could compare themselves to the other women they met and copy the style of those they admired and wished to emulate, especially their mourning costume and jewellery (Adburgham 1964:68). Innovations were further diffused, particularly to the colonies, via magazines, which through the improvements in the printing process, carried detailed drawings and photographs of funerary fashion.

However, the population of Brisbane proved to be remarkably resistant to some innovations in the sphere of death and burial while being remarkably receptive to others. As examined in Chapter Four, the transition to the use of the Brisbane General Cemetery took more than a decade to achieve. The municipal cemetery at the outskirts of the city, compared to the churchyard or burial ground located at the heart of the population centre was one innovation which many people found particularly difficult to accept. Accustomed to having their dead within walking distance from home, facilitating frequent visits, the removal of the dead to a location five kilometres from the General Post Office and the associated cost of transportation created resistance as it broke with a routine the residents were accustomed to. Mourners were prepared to overlook the overcrowded and less than salubrious condition of the NBBG as a payoff for their convenient location. "Old family associations, it was said, would be severed, and by some it was deemed an insult to the remains of the dead to place them in any other than the overcrowded charnel-house which contained the bones of their ancestors" (*Courier* 14 November 1863:2).

Cremation was proposed as a solution for overcrowded burial grounds in the United Kingdom and elsewhere (Jupp 2002). Brisbane's population was not alone in its resistance to cremation. The first crematorium built in England at Woking lay idle for seven years before its first use in 1885 (Curl 1972:164). From as early as 1863, the editor of *The Courier*, Theophilus Pugh, advocated the practice of 'urn burial' as a solution to the overcrowded conditions at the NBBG (*Courier* 14 November 1863:2). Over the next two decades, letters and editorials were published in the *Brisbane Courier* describing the advancement of the acceptance of cremation in the United Kingdom and on the Continent, cumulating in a flurry of articles surrounding the introduction of cremation in England (*Brisbane Courier* 30 June 1885:4). However, the debate over earth verses urn burial

would continue in Brisbane until the opening of the Mt Thompson Crematorium in September 1934. The proceedings were relayed to the readers of the *Courier Mail* in a series of items describing not only the crematorium but those who chose to be cremated (e.g. *Courier Mail* 12 September 1934:20).

Embalming was another innovation resisted by the Brisbane populace at large. As detailed in Chapter Seven, the introduction of embalming in 1895 had absolutely no impact on the interval between death and burial. Although embalming was marketed as “affording an opportunity hitherto prevented by the climate to the relatives and friends of the deceased to have the remains conveyed from any distance at any time of the year, and of viewing the departed before removal to the family vault” (*Brisbane Courier* 30 May 1895:1), these services were evidently not desired by the consumers of Brisbane.

However, the greatest area of resistance was to the simplification of the funeral ritual itself. In the period when Queensland was a separate colony, there was little discernible simplification in the conduct of a funeral. In the average Brisbane funeral described in Chapter Four, the corpse was transferred from the place of death in a coffin to a cemetery in a hearse or mourning coach in a ritual usually conducted by an undertaker, followed by a prescribed period of mourning, occasioning the wearing of black clothing by women and possibly the purchase of some form of memorialisation.

From the mid-1870s, the *Brisbane Courier* started to report instances of the simplification of the funerary ritual from the United Kingdom and other Australian colonies, notably South Australia. For example, a Church of England clergyman in Walkerville, South Australia, dispensed with the cortège to the local cemetery (*Brisbane Courier* 11 December 1875:6). In the same month, the *Brisbane Courier* reported that “funeral reforms are becoming fashionable in Sydney. The usual trappings of woe are being abolished” (*Brisbane Courier* 31 December 1875:3). The reporting of this abolition of these ‘trappings of woe’ was premature by a number of decades for in Sydney as in Brisbane, people were reluctant to give up their love of ‘a good display’.

In Queensland, the first moves towards the formation of a funeral reform society started a year later than in South Australia. The editor of the *Queenslander*, Gresley Lukin, followed in a similar vein to his southern counterparts:

The reform of funeral customs may be believed to be progressing, although, so far as we in Queensland are concerned, there is no very evident sign of keeping pace with the march of improvement in this particular, as observable in other places. We have not perhaps quite so much room for amendment as other people, the

necessities of our position having always forbidden the making [of] costly arrangements for the burial of the dead. Still it is curious to note how carefully we conform, so far as circumstances permit, to the traditions of our fathers (*Queenslander* 3 July 1875:6).

The “necessities of our position” Lukin was alluding to was the fact that as most burials were conducted on the day of death or the day after, “there is no time for our making the elaborate preparations which used to be common in the old country” (*Queenslander* 3 July 1875:6). The warm climate also meant that the giving of scarves and gloves to clergy and mourners did not play a large part in the Brisbane ritual (Jalland 1996:196). This did not mean, however, that there were no other parts in the funeral ritual where reforms could not be made.

The undertakers counteracted funeral reform and the simplification of funerals by retailing products which hitherto were unthought-of and not part of the traditional funeral ritual. Driven by their need to make a profit, they promoted innovations which would give them the highest return for the lowest outlay and risk. Funeral flowers were one innovation adopted whole-heartedly by individuals and intermediaries alike.

The growth in the use of flowers can be linked with another readily adopted innovation, the glass-sided hearse in which to display the flowers and the coffin when they passed potential consumers at funereal pace on the way to the cemetery. According to Arnold (2007:195) glass-sided hearses were introduced in the United Kingdom in the 1860s to instant public approval and with the secondary function of being “shop-windows for the undertaker’s art, with the coffin clearly visible within”. Related to this change in the display of coffins, handle plates and lacing became more prominent and less attention was placed on the ornamentation of the lid which was not visible in the hearse. In addition, coffins were no longer covered by palls while being conveyed in a glass-sided hearse. The use of a glass-sided hearse was one innovation which was rapidly adopted for funerals in the Australian colonies for as early as 1861 an undertaker in Ballarat, Victoria had acquired one. “Mr Scantlebury’s funeral was conducted by Mr Marshall, one of the new glass-sided hearses being used on the occasion” (*Star* 4 June 1861:2).

In Brisbane, glass-sided hearses started to appear in the display advertising of Petrie’s Undertaking Establishment coinciding with Hancock’s purchase of his share of the business in 1885 (Gordon and Gotch 1885:79) although it is likely that they were in use before this date, but not captured in any photographs.

The acceptance of glass-sided hearses as part of the funeral ritual is one example of the influence that intermediary and individual consumers had on innovation in the undertaking industry. To understand the commercial environment which allowed these innovations to occur it is necessary to examine the decision making processes of the consumers themselves which is achievable with the assistance of a consumer decision making model.

The development of the Funerary Consumption Model

Schiffman and Kanuk (1987:346) initially devised a simple model of consumer decision making as an organisational framework for their textbook *Consumer Behaviour*. This textbook only covered the external and internal influences on the purchase decision making process of individual consumers because the consumer decision making process of institutional and intermediary consumers were outside of the scope of the publication. This model was adapted by Henry (1991) for archaeological use and renamed a “general model of consumer behaviour”. Henry added the levels of use, post use disposition and entrance into the archaeological record. Crook (1999) further modified Henry’s model to insert primary and secondary refuse and post-disposition movement of artefacts before they finally reached the archaeological record (Figure 9).

However, Henry’s general model has a number of limitations as it was adapted by her for a purpose Schiffman and Kanuk had not intended and it fails to take into account the purchasing decisions of institutional and intermediary consumers. Therefore it cannot be described as a general model. In addition, this model does not adequately describe the processes involved in the decision making, acquisition, use and disposition of items purchased and consumed in a funeral and burial. In addition, recycling and loss/abandonment of funerary goods were not considered part of the Victorian era funeral ritual.

In this chapter a new model of funerary consumption is presented with three interlinked pathways cumulating in burial which I have called the Funerary Consumption Model (FCM) (Figure 33). In order to do this elements of the Schiffman and Kanuk model are combined with relevant elements of Webster and Wind’s (1972:15) “model of organisational buying behaviour” and Jaakkola’s “purchase decision-making framework for professional consumer services” (Jaakkola 2007:103). Post-depositional formation processes such as archaeological excavation, relocation and reburial is beyond the scope of this thesis.

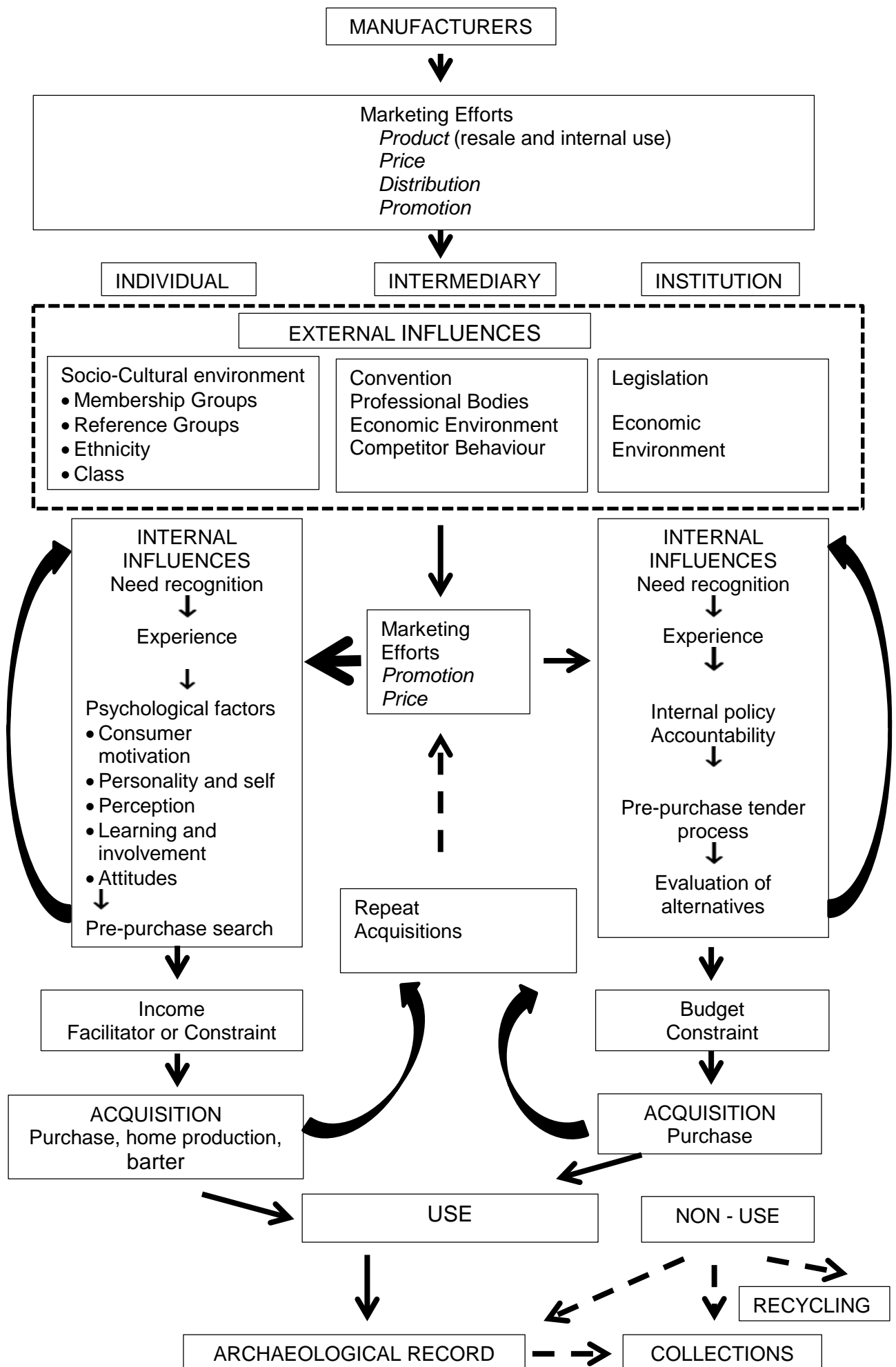


Figure 33 Funerary Consumption Model

In this next section, each of the components of the FCM are discussed and applied to colonial era funerals and burials in Brisbane. There are two broad categories which are common to general models of consumption: external influences and internal influences on the consumer. The FCM differs from previously published models (e.g. Henry, Crook) in that the external influences are divided into three elements reflecting the different influences exerted upon each type of consumer. Then the model contrasts the internal influences which apply to individual and institutional consumers. Through the centre of the model flows the effect of the marketing efforts on and by the intermediary. Income and budget are treated together as are the method of acquisition of the goods because there is a degree of overlap between individual and institutional consumers. The intermediary depends on repeat purchases in order to stay in business, and this flow of consumer knowledge is also captured. Finally the goods are consumed, and due to the singular nature of funerary products enter the archaeological record almost immediately.

Manufacturers

To perform a typical Brisbane funeral as described in Chapter Four, numerous trades, suppliers and manufacturers were dealt with by the undertaker. These included cloth manufacturers of various kinds (Prangnell and McGowan 2013), plume makers and dyers (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 10 December 1879:5), nail and tack makers (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 20 January 1890:7), carpenters, upholsterers and coach builders. In this section, coffin furniture manufacturers are discussed as being representative of the British funerary manufacturers which exported their goods to the Australian colonies.

Marketing efforts to the intermediary

Marketing effort incorporates the promotion, advertising, distribution and pricing of a product. In the case of funerals, there is the combination of the marketing of goods which are subsequently found in the archaeological record and the marketing of services which are not. The intermediary is at the centre of a marketing relationship between their various suppliers and the end consumers. Therefore coffin furniture manufacturers had to invest considerable effort in marketing to, and communicating with, the undertakers and cultivating a business relationship.

In August 1851 The *Sydney Morning Herald* reprinted a detailed summary of the English coffin furniture industry and described how marketing was conducted there:

Our travellers [in England] find it quite useless to show themselves with their pattern-books at an undertaker's unless they have something tasteful, new, and uncommon to produce, to tempt the buyers. There is the same demand for new

patterns in coffin plates and furniture as there is in handles. The undertakers, I suppose, like to turn out their jobs handsomely; for I question greatly whether this constant demand for novelty comes from the relatives of the dead (*Sydney Morning Herald* 25 August 1851:3).

Coffin furniture manufacturers differed from other metal goods manufacturers of the period in that they did not market their goods directly to the individual consumer, so display advertisements for their wares in newspapers and periodicals were rare before the advent of specialist trade journals such as *Undertakers and Funeral Director's Journal* which commenced publication in London in March 1886. Each month, this journal published a summary of funerals with detailed descriptions of the materials used in the coffins and the conduct of the funeral service; for example "April 22 Mr Geo King ... vestryman, guardian and member of the Metropolitan Asylums Board...The coffin was of polished oak, with massive brass furniture" (*Undertakers and Funeral Director's Journal* 19 May 1886:73). This editorial content was accompanied by display advertising placed by the various manufacturers. Through this journal, undertakers were appraised of changes in fashion, for example, the transition from cloth-covered to polished timber coffins.

Product

In most purchasing situations, the end consumer is usually directly influenced by the marketing efforts of the product manufacturer who establishes a brand profile and consumer desire (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:229-237). This does not apply in the case of funerary goods because these products were not directly marketed to the end consumer until the last decade of the 20th century. Brand names have no recognition factor with individual and institutional consumers of funerary goods so 'brand groups' where consumers of different backgrounds but sharing an interest in a specific brand, did not exist (Blythe 2013:219). However, the undertaker, had knowledge of brands from various manufacturers. This was particularly the case with coffin furniture from the 1840s when the *Registered Design Act* (1843) promoted competition amongst a number of manufacturers and distinct 'named' ranges began to emerge where previously unregistered designs were simply identified by a manufacturer's individual stock number. In Brisbane, the coffins themselves were manufactured and covered on the undertakers' premises but finished with imported coffin furniture if ordered by the client.

The bulk of the goods that undertakers purchased from manufacturers were for use in the burial and therefore, ultimately paid for by the final individual or institutional consumer. However, undertakers like other businesses, bought goods for their own consumption (i.e. used in the actual operation of the business). These included the obvious objects required

for a 'good display' such as the hearses, mourning coaches and palls described in Chapter Four. There were also the less obvious inputs including chamois to polish the horses' coats and blacking to paint their hooves. The undertakers' premises were becoming as visible as any other main stream retail outlet and were located in busy commercial precincts with a high degree of passing pedestrian traffic. These measures were calculated to keep the name of the undertaker in the public's mind and any retail sales on top of the provision of funerals was very profitable. From the mid-1880s there was a proliferation of goods such as metal and porcelain wreaths, grave ornaments, mourning stationery in sets and small commemorative articles which lent themselves to retail trade. Brisbane's undertakers responded to this new trend by restyling their premises to include plate glass windows in which a wide variety of goods were displayed (Nolan 2009:43).

Price

Prices for funerals were rarely displayed in newspaper advertisements and usually only when a new competitor entered the market prompting a price war to erupt amongst the undertakers. When Francis Murray entered the fray in March 1866, he promised to deliver a funeral "at a COST of FIFTY PER CENT BELOW the terms of ANY OF THE HOUSES IN TOWN" (*Brisbane Courier* 8 March 1866:1). Murray again advertised a list of funeral 'packages' in 1870 (*Brisbane Courier* 31 December 1870:1). This action presumably raised the ire of his competitors as it was almost ten years before funeral prices were advertised again in the daily press; this time by relative newcomer William Walsh (*Brisbane Courier* 25 October 1879:1). It appears to have been an unwritten rule amongst undertakers not to overtly advertise prices (Griffin and Tobin 1997:193-4).

Distribution

Brisbane undertaker John Smith's diary detailed purchases of the goods he required to conduct his business, to sell in conjunction with a funeral or to retail directly to the public. These were made from a variety of manufacturers, and flowed through the product chain through a complex web of importers, wholesalers and distributors. Later in the colonial period when a critical mass in market size was achieved allowing for market segmentation, undertakers' wholesalers entered the market to facilitate distribution between the manufacturers and low purchase volume intermediaries. For example, English coffin furniture manufacturer Dottridge Brothers (Figure 34) diversified into distribution and advertised directly to Queensland undertakers in 1898, perhaps to cut out the existing local middlemen such as James Walford of Sydney and Joseph Wehner of Brisbane (Wise & Co. 1898:9). Wehner, an established Brisbane picture frame manufacturer and general

importer added imported coffin furniture to his range of offerings (Gordon and Gotch 1898:20). Birmingham coffin furniture manufacturer Gordon and Monro also placed classified advertisements in the *Queensland Post Office and Official Directory* in the same year but did not go to the expense of a display advertisement (Wise & Co. 1898:XXXV). There was certainly a market for their products as 132 undertakers were listed Queensland-wide in 1898 (Gordon & Gotch 1898:483-4).

DOTTRIDGE BROTHERS,
LONDON & BIRMINGHAM.
 Chief Office: Dorset Works, East Rd., City Rd., London, N.
UNDERTAKERS' MANUFACTURERS & WAREHOUSEMEN.
 THE BEST HOUSE IN ENGLAND FOR COLONIAL UNDERTAKERS.

We supply every description of Goods used by Undertakers, comprising COFFIN FURNITURE in Tin, Iron, Brass, Electro and Silver. Inside Coffin Trimmings of every description. Flumes for Hearses and Cars. Machine-made knocked down Coffins in Oak and Metal. Patent Funeral Cars, Hand Biers, Hearses, &c., and every description of Undertakers' Sundries.

COLONIAL UNDERTAKERS SHOULD WRITE FOR OUR COMPLETE CATALOGUES, [22]
 WHICH WILL BE SENT FREE OF CHARGE.

CABLEGRAMS: "FUNERAL, LONDON." A B C Code Used.

Figure 34 Dottridge advertisement in the Queensland Official Directory for 1898-1899 (Wise & Co. 1898:9)

External influences

External influences are those forces outside the sphere of the purchaser that are either directed to, or sought by, the purchaser ahead of a decision being made (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:117). In Henry's general model the influence of both the socio-cultural environment and marketing efforts have equal emphasis. This is wholly applicable to individual consumers but only partially applicable to intermediaries and institutions. In the FCM the external influences on each of the three classes of consumer are presented.

External influences on intermediaries

Unlike the institutions, there was no legislative mechanism controlling the establishment of undertakers or the monitoring of their business practices. Any person who had access to some financial capital could conceivably hire the requisite undertaking plant and set themselves up in business and some of Brisbane's short-lived undertakers did just that. For example, the four-month long career of Joseph Bowerman was recorded by established Brisbane undertaker John Smith, from Bowerman's first funeral on the 7th April 1885 to the removal of his plant to Toowoomba in early August (J. Smith 1885 3-7). However, most of Brisbane's undertakers eased into the trade as an adjunct to their

cabinet-making, furniture or upholstery businesses because they already had good reputations as business proprietors and a pre-existing customer base.

Another external influence on the intermediary was competitor behaviour which often deteriorated with the deterioration in the economic environment. Established undertakers John Smith and the Hislop brothers colluded to put newly established undertaker W.H. Hancock under some financial pressure by not lending him additional horses and carriages during his busy periods (J. Smith 1885:15). This went against the convention of the day when undertakers regularly lent each other plant with the expectation that the favour would be reciprocated. When the industry became professionalised at the turn of the 20th century with the establishment of the various Master Undertakers' Associations, members were banned from dealing with non-member undertakers and plant had to be hired rather than loaned between members (Chambers 1990:7).

It was the external influence of social convention which probably had the most defining influence in the conduct of the undertaking trade. Individual consumers had an expectation of a minimum level of decency in respect to the burial of their dead, based on the experiences brought with them predominantly from the United Kingdom. Any transgression from the social convention was exposed in the most public forum possible, the daily newspaper, occasioning a spirited defence from the undertaker involved (e.g. by George Wilson in 1873 (*Brisbane Courier* 4 April 1873:3)). Wilson's reference to his "own special matters" reinforces the undertakers' role as an intermediary. Individual consumers sought the services of an intermediary because they lacked the expertise to arrange the funeral themselves and they wished to enhance their chances of making the right decision on a significant matter (Jaakkola 2007:102).

External influences on individuals

A consumer decision making model needs to accommodate the multiple groups which can influence the choices made by an individual consumer. In addition to the membership and reference groups previously described, the class and ethnicity of the individual consumer can have significant external influence. The relative influence and interaction that these groups have with each other and on the consumer are extremely difficult to model. Clark (1987) who examined the relative influence of socio-economic class and ethnicity on headstone selection in New York state concluded that class limited the number of choices available but this limitation was not only due to disposable income. While the lowest income individuals could not afford any form of permanent memorialisation, it does not

necessarily follow that high income consumers had an unlimited choice. Individuals in a class based society followed the conventionalised rules of behaviour which limited the choice of headstone (or funeral) they could make. A wealthy family could be subject to criticism by their social peers if they did not choose a funeral befitting their status or chose to leave the grave unmarked. The choice to leave a grave unmarked may also have been due to religious convictions. Members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) initially did not mark their graves. However by the mid-Victorian era a plain uniform-sized marker was in use (Wakeling and Moon 2002:23-4). Quakers were active in Brisbane from 1861 (Oats 1985:278-80). The description of a Quaker burial by a correspondent to the *Brisbane Courier* described the simplicity and dignity of the service without the need for a minister of religion to be present (*Brisbane Courier* 4 April 1873:3).

In the Australian Colonies, it was possible for some individuals of lower social classes to earn significant income resulting from the gold rushes (Blainey 2003:236). These people could choose to use this income to purchase a grave site and monument to emulate those in the comparative reference group to which they aspired, although this behaviour might not be considered prestigious by those in the upper social classes. Brisbane's cemeteries were laid out by the Trustees who deliberately divided graves into class portions under the assumption that people of the same social class would be buried and memorialised together. This assumption did not take into account the upward social mobility (at least in death) of those of the lower classes possessing significant income. For example, escaped convict James Davis gained some notoriety by living with the Indigenous people of South East Queensland in the 1830s acquiring the appellation 'Duramboi'. On his return to society Davis opened a crockery store where he amassed a significant amount of money and property (Petrie 1904:139-40). On his death in 1889, Davis bequeathed a property to the Brisbane Hospital which eventually realised £1000 in addition to previous generous cash donations (*Brisbane Courier* 4 March 1897:6). Davis was buried at Brisbane General Cemetery amongst the Catholic elite (Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1871-1884:Vol 3).

Ethnicity also influenced individual consumer decisions. To appeal to patriotic Irish and Scots, Birmingham coffin furniture manufacturer John Hands registered a shamrock set in 1856 (Figure 35) and a thistle set the following year (Figure 36). The families of the deceased could have used the display of the coffin to affirm their ethnic background to the other mourners.



Figure 35 Depositum from the Shamrock Set registered by John Hands in 1856 (TNA BT43-9-104810)



Figure 36 Depositum from the Thistle Set registered by John Hands in 1857 (TNA BT43-9-109814)

Brisbane's newly arrived migrants ranged from near destitute to prosperous; and it cannot be assumed that those whose ethnicities were furthest from the prevailing ethnic background constituted the majority of the lowest classes nor that all the well-to-do were from English-speaking backgrounds. From the demographic data presented in Chapter Four, it can be seen that in 1864 over 70% of the Queensland population was born overseas from eleven named countries and many more countries collated together as 'other'. Post-arrival, these migrants achieved greatly differing outcomes; poor remained poor, poor became rich, rich remained rich and rich became poor in many cases regardless of ethnic background. The consumer decisions made depended on where the individual found themselves economically and socially in the structure of the new colony.

External influences on institutions

The external influences on institutions included legislation, economic conditions and social convention. As described in Chapter Six, the Brisbane Hospital operated within a legislative framework (*Hospitals Act* (1862)) and was governed by a committee answerable first and foremost to its subscribers. These subscribers consisted of Brisbane's social elite who brought with them the social norms and charitable values from the United Kingdom. As patients were generally admitted by a ticket obtained from subscribers, it was they who determined who gained admittance and on the whole 'hopeless' or 'undeserving' cases were not admitted (Brisbane Hospital Committee 1883:6). This system initially worked well when Brisbane was a smaller town and

individuals were known to each other, but as the city grew, newly arrived migrants found it difficult to locate subscribers in order to obtain a ticket.

Marketing Efforts by the intermediary

In the Funerary Consumption Model, the marketing effort by the intermediary on the individual is shown to be a much stronger effect than that on the institution signified by the use of a bold arrow. Institutions by virtue of their legislative framework were, in theory, immune to marketing and inducements by the intermediaries. Individuals on the other hand were subject to the full force of advertising by the intermediaries. Jaakkola (2007) models a series of interactions between the intermediary and the consumer before the purchase decision is made. However, from the data collected from Brisbane undertakers' records, it is apparent that the consultation between the two was minimal and the individual consumer simply nominated a price point or an expectation of decency or quality. Jaakkola concludes that the "professional services providers' influence on decisions is presumed to derive from their expertise in the area of the client's problem" (Jaakkola 2007:102) and this is visible in the relationship between Brisbane undertakers and individual consumers.

Promotion

Chapter Seven presented a sample of the advertisements undertakers used to promote their services to the bereaved. Undertakers' advertisements were generally confined to the newspapers usually as small classified advertisements. Post Office directories and almanacs allowed for display advertising in addition to alphabetical listing. Invoices were hand written on decorative, often illustrated, pre-printed letterheads which detailed the firms' offerings. The practice of undertakers appending their names to funeral notices became entrenched in the mid-1860s. In the examination of the language utilised in these advertisements, the emphasis was economy, followed by experience in the industry either through the establishment date or business succession. Other terms in common can be grouped as pertaining to availability, punctuality and quality. Even a cursory comparison of the Brisbane undertakers' advertisements with those from the other Australian colonies, the United Kingdom and the United States between 1859 and 1901 showed that the language used was identical and in some cases even the same hearse illustrations was used indicating that these were a stock printer's block. The *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, a Protestant weekly publication, was one of the first Brisbane newspapers to offer display advertising. Walter Barrett was the first undertaker to adopt this innovation and incorporate a hearse illustration into a classified advertisement (*Queensland*

Evangelical Standard 18 July 1876:18). It was not until September 1879 that the *Brisbane Courier* commenced incorporating illustrations in their classified advertisements. Again, Barrett was the first undertaker to incorporate a hearse illustration into a classified advertisement in the newspaper (*Brisbane Courier* 17 September 1879:9). Bell, Cannon and Cripps followed suit two months later using the same image (Figure 37) (*Brisbane Courier* 10 December 1879:5). This particular image has been found as far as Hawaii (Figure 38) which also was under British colonial rule during most of the study period.



Figure 37 A printers' block image of a hearse from the advertisement of Bell, Cannon and Cripps, Brisbane (*Queensland Evangelical Standard* 18 April 1878:503)

To a certain extent the image matched the product the undertakers had to offer to the bereaved consumers of Brisbane. It certainly was one of respectability fairly closely matching the average middle-class funeral of the day as described in Chapter Four; i.e. a glass-sided hearse drawn by a pair of black horses driven by a top-hatted coachman with optional plumes; but only if you could afford it.

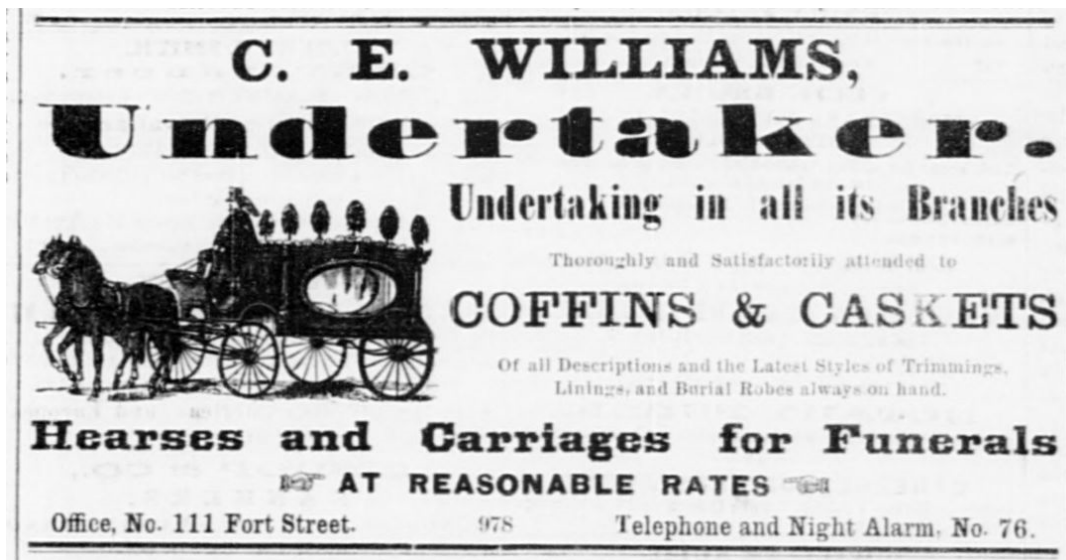


Figure 38 Hawaiian advertisement showing the same printers' block image used by many Brisbane undertakers in the 1890s (*Evening Bulletin* 24 January 1903:6).

One Brisbane undertaker felt that he had no need to advertise other than to append his name at the end of funeral notices. George Barney Petrie, the son of Brisbane's undertaker from the convict era Andrew Petrie, started conducting funerals under his own name in 1863 (*Courier* 5 February 1863:3). Unlike his rivals Francis Murray, Joshua Ebenston and the Hislop Brothers, Petrie did not place a single display advertisement in the contemporary post office and commercial directories, nor did he place any advertisements except that described above in the Brisbane newspapers. When his health began to fail, Petrie sold his undertaking business to Walter Barrett in May 1875, the new owner styling his business name to capitalise on the long-established Petrie name (Nolan 2009:13). For example, Barrett initially named his new business "Petrie's Undertaking Establishment" trading on its location at Petrie's Bight, Queen Street, Brisbane and connection with the Petrie family (*Queensland Evangelical Standard* 10 June 1875:2) but in 1884 styled himself in as "Walter Barrett (late G.B. Petrie)" (*Brisbane Courier* 9 June 1884:1).

Through undertakers' advertisements, the general public in Brisbane was also made aware of the distinction between registered and unregistered coffin furniture (often also described as 'common' or 'general'). Over time, consumers acquired the appreciation that registered coffin furniture was superior, albeit more expensive, to the general designs and that the purchase of it conveyed an indication of higher social status to others observing the funeral.

Price

How much a funeral cost an individual's family or an institutional consumer was determined by the external influences under which they operated. The data presented in Chapter Four showed a variety of funerals and their cost. Institutional consumers operated within a legislative framework which determined how they procured funeral services and how much they paid for them. As detailed in Chapter Six, performing contract funerals for the institutions would not be particularly lucrative for the successful tenderer. However, the constancy of the work kept the coffin makers employed and the horses exercised.

Individual consumers existed in a free market economy and were subject to a variety of economic conditions. Undertakers were continuously pilloried in the popular press for exploiting their clients and marking up the price of funerary paraphernalia by several hundred per cent (e.g. Dickens 1852). Although it is possible that there were instances of profiteering on the provision of funerals in Brisbane, no documented cases have been found for the period 1859 – 1901. However, according to Brisbane undertaker John Smith, it could be very difficult at times to make a living, with his firm waiting up to a fortnight between conducting funerals (Smith, J. 1885:12) and with the substantial overheads that were detailed in Chapter Seven. During the 1895 depression, Brisbane undertakers were obliged to lower their prices to attract custom (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 28 November 1895:1).

Service

The undertaking industry in colonial Brisbane was fluid, with a number of very short lived firms, for example, J.G. Gerlee who operated for the year of 1882 (e.g. *Courier* 25 April 1862:1) and the Meggitt Brothers who lasted eighteen months from 1889 – 1890 (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 25 March 1889:1). There were also some spectacular bankruptcies, such as W.H. Hancock who was declared insolvent in 1889 after four years in the industry (Public Curator Office 1889). Advertising one's longevity and stability was a selling point. When John Hislop commenced business in 1869 he advertised that he had been "upwards of four years with Mr Ebenston [undertaker] of Queen Street" (*Brisbane Courier* 7 August 1869:1). In 1900, Hislop advertised that he had been in business for 34 years and that he still personally conducted funerals (Wise & Co. 1900:1323).

Internal influences on the individual

The external factors discussed above exerted influence on consumer behaviour for both individual and institutional consumers. However, there are internal factors which also need

to be considered. These are usually described as psychological influences in the marketing literature and are usually applied to individual consumers.

Need recognition

Need recognition generally is defined as “the realisation by the consumer that there is a difference between ‘what is’ and ‘what should be’” (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:684). The recognition of need is also likely to occur when the consumer (individual or institutional) is faced with a problem. These problems could be either simple (i.e. recurring so frequently that they can be dealt with automatically) or complex (generally developing over a long period of time). In the case of death and burial the problem was obvious, and the process required for addressing the need commenced immediately.

Pre-purchase search

A pre-purchase search begins when the consumer perceives that their need may be satisfied by the purchase and consumption of a product (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:494). The recollection of a past experience with a product or service may be sufficient for the consumer to either repeat the purchase (if the previous experience was positive) or commence the search for an alternative (if the previous experience was negative). There are a number of internal factors which usually determine the degree of pre-purchase searching an individual undertakes depending on their knowledge of the product or their access to other consumers with product knowledge. Individual consumers also devote more time to searching if the potential purchase is substantial or has a significant degree of ‘risk’ (either financial or social) attached. If the individual consumer is required to conduct a search from the very beginning, for example, if they are newly arrived in Brisbane with no knowledge of the available alternatives, they are most likely to be receptive to the marketing efforts of the intermediary. Jaakkola (2007:103) noted that if a purchase decision involved a high degree of irreversibility, consumers were likely to rely more on the professional advice of an intermediary.

Evaluation of alternatives

Generally, funeral services were purchased without prior knowledge of costs, and available alternatives, under substantial time pressures, and when the consumer was in a state of emotional vulnerability (Schwartz *et al.* 1986). Schwartz *et al.* (1986:42) also found that ‘shopping around’ and price comparison between undertakers was rare even in the United Kingdom where there could be more than one a week between the death and burial. Undertakers did not facilitate choosing a product by price, as funerals were rarely advertised in newspapers with costs.

The data from Brisbane indicates that the over-riding consideration in the degree of pre-purchase searching and the evaluation of the alternatives which were achievable in the purchase of funeral services was time. As shown in Chapter Four, the interval between death and burial was generally less than twenty-four hours. Once an undertaker was selected, the individual consumer immediately moved on to the acquisition stage.

Internal influences on the institution

The internal influences on institutional consumers followed the similar process of need recognition, a pre-purchase process, and the evaluation of alternatives before proceeding to acquisition. In an institution such as the Brisbane Hospital, the need for burial services was a predictable, simple problem requiring a quickly and easily initiated routine to address the problem. As shown in Chapter Six, the Brisbane Hospital under the legislative framework of the *Hospital Act* (1862) was required to call annual tenders for the provision of goods and services. This external influence was augmented by a number of internal influences including the rules and policies of the organisation and any previous experience the institution may have had with suppliers. Unlike individual consumers, institutional consumers did not have the time pressure in deciding who was to provide the service as this was determined at the end of the previous year for the next twelve months. The evaluation of alternatives took place as part of the tender process, when competing undertakers were invited to give a price in response to a set of minimum standards specified by the institution.

Income and budget

The positioning of income in a consumption model is problematic. Henry (1991) places it separately to external and internal influences. While market researchers are able to study the psychological aspects which internally influence purchase behaviour through questionnaires and interviews, this is not possible in the study of consumer decision making processes which occurred in the historic past. Therefore one will never know how the final decision of an individual consumer on how much to spend on a product or service was arrived at. Instead scholars of historic consumption study a combination of social class and income or wealth as a predictor of expenditure.

In general consumer theory an individual's income is frequently used as an estimator of social class and can be derived from a variety of sources (Schiffman *et al.* 2014:365). However, in Victorian England, there was a sharp division between 'new' money (i.e. that acquired through work and trade) and 'old' or inherited money. A sufficient income of 'new'

money was no guarantee of social acceptance by the upper classes and there were more than a few aristocratic families, who while being asset rich had little disposable income (Wilson 2003:59-61). Many of the younger sons of titled and landed families who were unable to inherit were sent to colonial Queensland in order to create the professional classes or to acquire land. Here, the reality did not always match the expectation and a number of former members of the 'old' money class were more modestly buried than would otherwise be expected, especially if the undertaker was not willing to extend credit to the immediate family.

Henry (1991) concluded that social class membership exerts a stronger influence on consumer behaviour than actual income which she believed should be treated as an economic variable distinct from, but related to, the social-cultural variable included in the external influences. However, Henry's model does not take into account the influence that the intermediary could have on the expenditure of income. The undertaker had to be astute in assessing the 'risk' in extending credit by allowing for the payment of a funeral in instalments. While it was in the commercial interests of the undertaker to obtain the highest possible sum in the sale of the goods, this could be financially disastrous if the debt had to be written off as bad because this was one of the few areas in retail selling where it was impossible to repossess the goods due to the non-payment of the account. As shown in Chapter Seven from the analysis of the undertakers' accounts in the year 1900, undertakers expected payment in full at the time of the purchase and allowed payment in instalments in less than 15% of sales. However, undertakers did on occasion allow instalment payment not only to some of their better-off clients who had ordered expensive funerals but also to those of extremely modest means. For example, Sophie Miller permitted the parents of ten week old Arthur Cooper to pay off the £2/10 cost of a coffin, buggy and burial in a Class Three grave in monthly instalments of one shilling (Miller 1900:168).

While for individual consumers income could either be a facilitator or constraint on expenditure, for institutional consumers, expenditure was invariably constrained by a budget. While it was impossible for the Brisbane Hospital to predict how many people were likely to die within their walls each year they could at least predetermine how much they were prepared to pay for each burial. When the annual cost exceeded the predicted budget, the shortfall was carried over to the following year and the admission criteria were tightened to reduce the potential liability of unclaimed dead in the hospital morgue

(*Brisbane Courier* 17 January 1868:3). Unlike individual consumers, institutions have the extra level of accountability of the way public or subscribers' funds are expended.

Acquisition

Once a decision has been made to purchase, the requisites for a funeral need to be acquired. It was possible for individuals to home-make coffins and to conduct the funeral themselves as seen in the case of the Horn Family in Chapter Five. However, for the vast majority of consumers, goods were acquired through purchase from the intermediary, rather than directly from the manufacturer. Other than the coffin shells, none of the requisites for a funeral were manufactured in the colony of Queensland and as such had to be imported either by a general merchant or by the undertaker. With the tight timeframes discussed above, the goods and services needed to be readily available. As described in Chapter Seven, the undertakers facilitated this acquisition by being open to take orders twenty-four hours per day, seven days per week and by opening branch offices in the densely populated areas of the city which had good transportation links.

Repeat purchase

Jaakkola (2007) found that the client's influence on the repeat purchase decision was positively related to the importance that the intermediary placed on customer satisfaction. The general consumer decision making models (i.e. Henry, Crook) incorporate the previous experience that the consumer has using a product as an input in the internal influence segment of the decision making process. This is where the funerary industry necessarily deviates from the more general range of consumer products and manufacturing. In coming to a purchase decision, the individual consumer is not relying on their experience with a product (e.g. coffin) but with the level of service they received from the undertaker for the price they paid. It is in this aspect that undertakers most closely identify with the professional service organisations described by Jaakkola (2007). Undertaking firms relied on repeat business from within a family or direct referrals to augment the amount they spent on advertising. John Smith notes with dismay in his diary that Catholic priest Father Canali referred a private burial from the Brisbane Hospital to Hislops when he "should have come here" (J. Smith 1885:18).

With institutional consumers, the lowest tendered price would probably have been the primary consideration, but the trustees could not be immune to complaints made by the family and friends of the deceased buried by the institution when evaluating the alternatives. Concerns about poor workmanship and poor service were often aired in the

newspapers, and these negative experiences may have had a bearing on the final decision, as the institutional committee members were also sensitive to public opinion. For example, when a correspondent wrote in a letter to the editor about the conduct of a pauper funeral from the Brisbane Hospital, s/he concluded “I can hardly believe that the committee of an institution so admirably conducted in every other way as this is, can be cognisant of the way these poor mourners are treated” (*Brisbane Courier* 27 August 1872:2).

Use / Non-use

Once purchased by the consumer, the goods required for a burial were used immediately and therefore directly entered the archaeological record. However, not all of the stock purchased by the undertaker or general merchants was consumed and some remain available for study in museum collections, for example, the unsold coffin furniture from the Wong General Store, Fullerton, New South Wales. There are a number of reasons why the durable stock may have remained unsold. Undertakers may have over-ordered stock which then became unfashionable. When cloth covered coffins went out of fashion in favour of polished timber coffins, the style of coffin furniture also changed. Black japanned coffin plates were made redundant and those not recycled for scrap form the basis of museum collections such as those at the York Castle Museum and the Stoke-on-Trent Museum.

In rare cases, the unsold stock may still be located at the place of manufacture. The Newman Brothers coffin furniture factory located in Birmingham, England, closed down in 1999 after just over one hundred years in the industry. Undistributed stock spanning decades was found secreted around the factory when restoration of the building commenced in 2011. The reason why this stock, some of it ‘seconds’, was not melted down and recycled internally in the manufacturing process is unclear, but its accidental survival provides the basis of a collection of coffin furniture housed in a museum in the renovated factory building (Attwooll 2014).

Example of the flow of goods through the Funerary Consumption Model

Coffin furniture is used as an example to show the flow of goods through the Funerary Consumption Model, as it is a durable commodity that can be identified in the archaeological record. During the 19th century, coffin furniture transformed from being purely functional to highly decorative providing the means of conveying the status of the deceased to the observer.



Figure 39 Artefact (FS242) *in situ* at the NBBG (UQASU F17_C7-10)

Artefact FS242 recovered from grave F17 at the NBBG (Figure 39) is a stamped, japanned metal shield-shaped depositum (Murphy and Rains 2003:15). It was attached to an adult-sized (190cm long) hexagonal wooden coffin interred in the Anglican portion of the NBBG. This depositum is evidence of the choice of a specific design from the array available for purchase at the time. This array included symbols of mortality, overtly religious scenes of Christ's Passion or the ethnic designs shown in Figure 35 and Figure 36. Depositums manufactured post-1839 (after the introduction of the *Copyright of Designs Act* (1839)) are easier to date because the range of designs proliferated as manufacturers differentiated their offerings. These copyright protected registered designs were in production for shorter periods of time, unlike most unregistered designs which were produced for more than two centuries. Coffin handles were more uniform in shape and were interchangeable across a range of handle plates which due to the thinness of their construction usually only survive in the archaeological record as an imprint and are less useful for identification purposes.

The coffin furniture recovered from F17 matches a design registered by Birmingham brass founder and coffin furniture manufacturer John Hands who was business by October 1839 (Robson 1839:50) when he took advantage of the new Copyright of Designs Act (1839) to

register and protect his designs for a coffin breastplate and coffin lace (TNA BT 42/1/59&60). In October 1863, John Hands registered the design of a breastplate and a matching set consisting of a choice of handles, lace and lid motifs shown in Figure 42. The poor preservation of F17 generally does not allow the easy identification of the size of the handles used with the depositum. The only identifiable feature, the palmette, (shown in Figure 40 and Figure 41) is common to all three handle plate designs shown in Figure 42. As it is an adult-sized coffin, one of the two coffin handle and plate designs on the right hand side of Figure 42 was most likely to have been used. Registered design depositum and lid ornaments were purchased in sets with the matching handles available separately because the number required per coffin varied (Hasluck 1913:47). There was no evidence found at excavation that the matching lid decorations and lace were purchased in addition to the depositum and handles. By offering coffin furniture in matching sets, the manufacturers created the conditions to sell more of their product than might have been otherwise selected by the individual consumer. The coffin handle had completely corroded leaving only an impression in the soil (Figure 40) which matched the design in Figure 41.



Figure 40 Impression of coffin handle plate *in situ* (F17) NBBG (UQASU F17_C7-32)



Figure 41 The middle-sized coffin handle and plate from set (TNA BT43-15-166773)

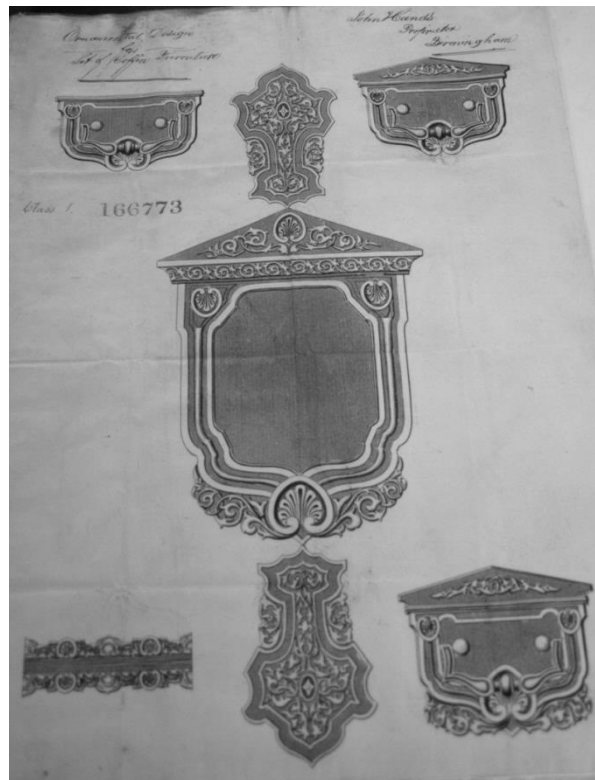


Figure 42 Complete set of coffin furniture registered by John Hands in October 1863 (TNA BT 43-15-166773)

Marketing efforts and distribution to the intermediary

No catalogues from any of the English coffin furniture manufacturers from the 1840s to 1900 survive in the public domain (Hoile 2013:14). That the various manufacturers produced catalogues post-1840 which were mailed on request to colonial undertakers is seen in Figure 34. Brisbane's undertakers may have purchased their coffin furniture requirements directly from John Hands and Co. who advertised extensively in trade directories (e.g. Morris 1862:72) or from a general importer. From May 1865, Brisbane ironmongers and importers Bell and Love added coffin furniture to their extensive range of wares advertising directly "To Undertakers" (e.g. *Brisbane Courier* 17 May 1865:1). The coffin furniture may have been imported directly into Brisbane, or trans-shipped via Sydney (*Sydney Morning Herald* 5 Feb 1864:7). Shipping cargo manifests from the 1860s while recording the quantities of coffin furniture imported do not record the manufacturer (e.g. *Telegraph* 18 January 1873:2).

Intermediaries

In late 1863 there were two established undertakers operating in Brisbane; George Barney Petrie and Joshua Ebenston (Nolan 2009:5). It was not until March 1866 that another major competitor, Francis Murray entered the market (*Brisbane Courier* 8 March 1866:1). Due to the non-survival of the undertakers' business records for the period the NBBG

operated it is unable to be determined which of Brisbane's undertakers purchased the depositum and handle set.

Inscriptions were usually painted onto the name plates as were recovered from nearby burials. No evidence of an inscription was recovered from the name plate (FS242) in F17. Although the identity of the deceased in this case is unknown, the use of registered design coffin furniture, being more expensive than the unregistered type, indicates that the deceased came from a higher socio-economic class. When arranging the burial, presumably the deceased's family was shown the stock on hand at the undertaker's premises to guide their choice as the pressure of time would not have permitted a wider choice from the manufacturers' catalogues. It is unlikely that Brisbane's undertakers would have imported the entire range from a particular manufacturer. John Hands, for example registered 13 complete sets (e.g. of furniture between 1846 and 1865 (TNA BT 43/4/38051 - BT 43/17/188552). It is more likely that a subset of the available range of coffin furniture was physically displayed in the undertaker's premises (e.g. Table 26) where Walsh stocked particular patterns at his branch office. There is photographic evidence of this method of marketing from Gulgong, New South Wales (American & Australasian Photographic Company 1873b).

Marketing effort to the individual

While it is possible to show the physical movement of goods through the FCM from the manufacturer to the archaeological record, it is not feasible to demonstrate retrospectively all of the external influences which swayed the decision making processes made by an individual consumer in the purchase of the matching name plate and coffin handles. The only known personal account of an Anglican funeral in this time period and location is the burial of Mrs Georgina Hely in 1866 which was described in detail in Chapter Five. Unfortunately the account is silent about the actual purchase of the coffin as the female narrator, a non-family member, was not privy to the transaction. Newspaper descriptions of funerals at this time rarely describe the coffin. However, it is possible to reconstruct the marketing effort made by the undertaker to this individual consumer. As previously mentioned, George Petrie, the established undertaker, did not advertise other than appending his name to the end of funeral notices. Joshua Ebenston advertised to potential customers that his charges were moderate and (obliquely) that there was a further opportunity to save more money by hiring the second-class hearse (Pugh 1864:41). If the consumer indicated that he wanted a 'first-class' funeral with the best hearse, then it follows that the more expensive registered coffin furniture would have been used.

As demonstrated the FCM can function in the absence of documentary evidence supporting the event. The model guides the researcher through the stages from manufacture to the archaeological record while indicating the point in the chain where inputs of influence occurred. At each of these input points, there is the opportunity to locate supporting information, where it still exists, which will shed light on why a particular purchasing decision was made in addition to what was actually purchased.

Applicability of the Funerary Consumption Model to different contexts

To test the robustness of the FCM it can be applied to different spatial and temporal contexts. The consumption of funerary goods in other areas of Queensland and the Australian colonies contemporary to the study period is examined. The Model is then applied to funerary consumption in Victorian era United Kingdom and the United States; two regions with initially similar consumption patterns which diverge towards the end of the 19th century. Even so, the three strands of the Model still apply. In some European countries, different regimes were established to manage the burial of the dead, and these to a greater or lesser extent altered the degree of control which individual consumers in particular had over funerary consumption.

The Model can be applied to funerary consumption from the emergence of the intermediary in Britain from the 17th century to the early 21st century. Modern technological advances have shifted the relative knowledge/power relationship from being in favour of the intermediary to individual consumers with access to information technology. The Model is flexible enough to incorporate the modification of influences on the consumption behaviour of individual consumers. Finally, the Model is applied to non-funerary consumption in areas where there is an intermediary to mediate between the manufacturer of a product and the end consumers. This application demonstrates that the three strands of the model are applicable to consumption in a range of sectors.

Applicability of the model to other locations

The FCM proposed in this thesis has broader application beyond the funerary and burial practices in Brisbane from 1859 – 1901 detailed in Chapters Four to Seven. Undertakers operating in other regions of colonial Queensland advertised an identical array of goods and services. For example Benjamin Toll of Charters Towers, utilising the same hearse image as shown in Figure 37 and Figure 38 advertised that he had “now received Goods and Coffin Furniture direct from England, and is prepared to conduct Funerals in all styles and at Reasonable Prices” (*Northern Miner* 30 November 1882:1). Institutions outside of

Brisbane had the same need as the Brisbane Hospital; to dispose of the dead as efficiently and economically as possible. The Cairns Hospital Committee, meeting in 1887, had to deal with bereaved families offering to pay the difference between the Hospital's pauper burial (£3/10/-) and a decent furnished coffin provided by the local undertaker (£5 and upward) (*Cairns Post* 13 August 1887:3). The Committee, clearly annoyed with subsidising the funerals of people of some means passed the motion "insisting in the future that a person dying in the Hospital must be buried altogether by the Hospital as a pauper, or altogether by his friends in any way they chose" (*Cairns Post* 13 August 1887:3). Similarly, the Charleville Hospital Committee in 1901 dealt with the same problem of solvent patients receiving 'free' funerals at the expense of the hospital. The motion "that when a financial patient dies in the hospital his burial be paid for at the undertaker's usual charges and not at the rate of the hospital contract" was carried unanimously (*Charleville Times* 7 September 1901:2).

In the other Australian colonies, general funeral practices as described by Jalland (2002), Griffin and Tobin (1997) and others followed essentially the same procedures as those described for Brisbane in Chapter Four. The appearance of Brisbane colonial era funerals probably would not have been distinguishable from those in the other Australian colonies. However, with the non-survival of photographs from any Brisbane funerals (other than a handful of newspaper photographs of Class One funerals), the precise funerary consumption of the bulk of the Brisbane population will remain unknown after 1875 when no further archaeological evidence is available. At best, comparisons can be made with funeral photographs from other jurisdictions. Figure 43 is a photograph from the Snowball Collection of six-year old John Quigley in his coffin. The child died of croup at his home at West Wallsend, New South Wales on the 16th August 1893 and was buried at the nearby Minmi Cemetery the next day by undertaker Albert Galpin (New South Wales Death Certificate 1893/14649). The financial records for the Minmi cemetery have not been located, so the grave is assumed to be Class Two as John Quigley's older brother Thomas, also pictured, drowned in October the same year (New South Wales Death Certificate 1893/14651) and the two boys are buried together in a grave marked by a headstone. The records of the undertaker A.H. Galpin from at least 1892 to 1895 also have not survived. Although West Wallsend is 800kms south of Brisbane, the practice of rapid burial, even in winter, is the same as Brisbane. Therefore it is valid to make a comparison with the funerals of children of a similar age and same grave class conducted by Brisbane undertaker K.M. Smith. For example, the funeral of 5½ year old Claude Reeve

cost his clerk father £3/10- excluding grave and Sunday interment fees. The cost did include two mourning coaches and a 4' 6" coffin (Smith 1895:148). Presumably, Claude Reeve's coffin would have looked similar to the one illustrated in Figure 43.



Figure 43 Coffin of John Quigley age six, West Wallsend, New South Wales 17 August 1893 (Hunter Photo Bank, Snowball Collection 3707)

Howarth (2000:90) concedes that while contemporary Australian funeral rituals are amongst the most the diverse in the world, reflecting changes in immigration patterns, this was not always the case and early generations of migrants stuck fast to the rituals and practices imported from the United Kingdom and Ireland. Since colonial Australian funerary ritual was so closely identified with the 'old Country' it follows that the FCM would apply equally in the United Kingdom where there was the same division between individual and institutional consumers, with the undertaker as the intermediary. Even though the Australian colonies did not have an ennobled class, they did establish a system of honours which created a social elite and the need for State Funerals such as those of Sir Anthony Musgrave and the Honourable Thomas Joseph Byrnes. The social hierarchy may have been flatter in Australia compared to the United Kingdom, but the social distinctions in regard to funerals were still observed as closely as possible to those in the United Kingdom across the length and breadth of Queensland.

During the mid-19th century, funerals in the United States and Canada appeared to have been conducted along similar lines to those in the United Kingdom with comparable patterns of consumption as evidenced from newspaper descriptions of funerals, undertakers' advertisements and invoices, and photographs (Swedlund 2010:143-46). The American Civil War created the need to transport a large number of soldiers' corpses (mainly officers) back to their homes for burial, creating a new service (embalming) and its associated industry (the manufacture of the required chemicals and equipment) which shaped the American funeral from that time onwards (Faust 2008:91-9).

In the latter decades of the 19th century funerary consumption in the United States became more professionalised and commodified with the undertaker taking on a more entrepreneurial role (Farrell 1980:151). A critic of the American funeral industry Jessica Mitford commented "like every other successful salesman, the funeral salesman must first and foremost believe in himself and his product" (Mitford 2000:3). Mitford succinctly defines this role of the intermediary as one who has the knowledge to select products on behalf of their clients and the confidence to sell them the same at a substantial profit.

The degree to which the model can be extended to non-English speaking countries in the same period depends on the country under investigation. For example, as some of the mourning paraphernalia used in the United Kingdom was inspired by French fashion (e.g Taylor 2009:130) it would appear on the surface the model's application to the French context would be straight-forward. Trompette (2012:20-23) traced the origins of the 19th century funerary market in France and examined the influence (and interference) by Church and State on the first undertakers. The gradual spread of the funeral industry from Paris to the major provincial cities has parallels in both the United Kingdom and Australia. As in other markets, undertakers assumed the role of supplier of funeral goods and services which became the source of private business prosperity and immense personal wealth. Through a process of increasing the commodification of the funeral goods and creating several distinct classes of funerals, the most expensive funerals cross-subsidised pauper burials (Trompette 2012:23). However, the undertakers had to establish themselves as efficient "trade mediators" between individual consumers and multiple institutions (i.e. the Church and State) in a market controlled by a franchise system in which a single undertaker was appointed to a municipality (Trompette 2012:22). For the individual consumer, the selection of the intermediary was straight forward, the complexity only arising with the choice of class of funeral and which goods were to be consumed within the church (e.g. candles), that were under the price control of the Church; and which

elements of the funeral were conducted outside of the church, and therefore under the jurisdiction of the State. Although the individual consumer had no choice in which intermediary to use, the intermediary still had considerable latitude in the value of the funeral package which could be sold to the bereaved, and the purchases made on behalf of the client as described in the Funerary Consumption Model.

Walter (2005) studied mortuary variation in a number of countries including France and Sweden and found that in the mid-19th century, the control of funerary services could be exercised by business, the municipality, or the Church, leading to three pure types of funeral organisation (commercial, municipal, religious) and a number of mixed types. He noted that “mobility from country to town, or from Europe to America, detached mourners from traditional funeral customs, leading them to become more reliant on experts to tell them what to do” (Walter 2005:176) which in turn created a number of subspecialists (e.g. embalmers). Originally the domain of organised Christian religion, the countries discussed above transferred burial responsibilities to private enterprise (the USA), local municipalities (France) or retained it within Church control (the Scandinavian Countries). In the Victorian era, the United Kingdom became a hybrid of all three with burials being conducted in churchyards, for-profit cemeteries (e.g. Kensal Green, Highgate) and after the *Burial Act* (1855) in municipal cemeteries. Thus the relationship between the individual consumer and the intermediary could vary from a strictly commercial relationship to one more akin to a parishioner and their priest. The FCM still applies in instances where the intermediary makes purchase decisions on behalf of the bereaved.

Japan is a non-Christian funerary market where the role of the intermediary is on a purely commercial footing, with both individual and institutional consumers in the market. As in Victorian era England, 19th century Japanese funerals were sold as packages arranged in a strict social hierarchy and coffins were supplied in a variety of shapes and timbers. Buddhist items, such as rosaries, shrouds, gold brocade and porcelain objects were supplied to local undertakers by specialist wholesalers who emerged in considerable numbers in Tokyo in the 1920s and 1930s (Shinya 2004). The parallels with the development of funeral goods and services in the United Kingdom are clear. The commercialisation, homogenisation and exploitative nature of Japanese funeral services have been likened to practices in the United States, and also with elements of Dickensian England (Suzuki 2003). In more recent times the emphasis has shifted to the beauty and complexity of the altar in front of which the coffin lies during the obsequies rather than the coffin itself as it is always cremated (Murakami 2000:344). Although the arrangement of

funerals has passed from Buddhist priests to commercial undertakers, priests have been implicated in profiteering by charging for creating posthumous names for the deceased and charging exorbitant fees for attending vigils in the home (Shinya 2004). The FCM is particularly applicable to individual consumers in the Japanese context as the intermediary developed considerable power over the choices made by the bereaved families, driven by their commercial interests.

Applicability of the model to other timeframes

The FCM is applicable to consumer decision making processes at the point when a distinct intermediary class emerges to purchase goods from the manufacturer and provide a service on behalf of consumers. In the United Kingdom a funeral industry with intermediaries began to develop in the 17th century with the first identified English undertaker being William Boyce of London who opened a shop circa 1675 stocking “all sorts and sizes of coffins and shrouds ready-made and all other conveniences belonging to funerals” (Litten 2002:17).

The FCM can be applied in the Australian colonies from the early days of the penal colony of New South Wales as there is documentary evidence to support the flow of goods through the model from the publication of the first newspaper in March 1803. The first funerals for non-convicts were conducted by military chaplains. Howarth (2000:81) states that “the funeral ceremonies were relatively impoverished, with few priests or facilities and little desire for complicated ritual in a strange land”. This is at odds with the fact that coffin furniture was being imported into Sydney from England as early as 1803 (*Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 24 April 1803:3). These imports may have started earlier but there is no surviving evidence of this beyond the colony’s first newspaper and ships’ cargo manifests. In addition, the same newspaper carried detailed descriptions of several elaborate funerals within its first year of publication, for example that of Building Superintendent James Bloodworth (*Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 25 March 1804:4). The first newspaper record of the use of a hearse in Sydney was in 1815, indicating that by then there was at least one (unnamed) intermediary arranging funerals responding to a need created by the increasing number of free settlers in the colony (*Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 18 November 1815:2). By 1819, there were two cabinet makers performing funerals and one, James Smith, also acted as a general importer with coffin furniture amongst his wares (*Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 30 January 1819:4).

It was the carnage of World War One closely followed by the influenza pandemic in 1919 which marked a sharp decrease in discretionary funerary consumption (Griffin and Tobin 1997:168). However, the need to bury the dead remained, and while the variety of goods purchased for a funeral may have decreased, the process of funerary consumption stayed the same. Individual consumers increasingly relied on undertakers to provide a service because with the professionalisation of the industry and the increasing number of deaths in institutions, the preparation of the dead for burial had shifted from the domestic sphere to the undertakers' own mortuaries.

Jaakkola (2007) found that consumers hired a professional service provider to solve problems that required specialist task-related knowledge and expertise they did not have, especially if they wanted to enhance their chances of making the right decision on a significant purchase which they routinely did not perform and had little knowledge of the range of the alternatives. Since the advent of the internet in the mid-1990s, consumers now have access to a vast array of information on products and services which they can use to expand their pre-purchase search without any recourse to the intermediary. The intermediaries themselves can now be compared, although undertakers, as before, rarely advertise their fees online. However, there are now independent consumer websites such as the United Kingdom's Good Funerals Guide (www.goodfuneralguide.co.uk) which provide an outlet for consumer dissatisfaction about excessive costs and poor service as well as acting as a portal for those consumers who want to arrange the entire funeral and burial themselves. As individual consumers become more empowered by knowledge, the need for the intermediary diminishes (Stock 2014). Therefore the proposed FCM would need to be modified at the internal influences level of the Individual in order to accommodate contemporary knowledge inputs.

The 'main-stream' manufacturers of funerary requisites (e.g. coffins) generally refuse to retail their goods to individual consumers, due to the commercial relationships which have existed between themselves and the undertakers for decades (Larkins 2007:46-7). However, numerous niche manufacturers who hand craft eco-friendly coffins and burial garments utilise the internet to market directly to the end consumer. For example Melbourne designer Pia Interlandi designs bio-degradable burial garments and shrouds compatible with the ideals of the green burial movement (www.piainterlandi.com) and Serendipity Environmentally Friendly Coffins of Western Australia expediently ship their wicker coffins to any part of Australia (www.serendipitycoffins.com.au).

Conclusion

In summary the Funerary Consumption Model proposed in this thesis can be used to explain the relationships and choices of individual and institutional consumers of funerary goods and services with intermediaries in Australia from the earliest years of colonial settlement to the present day, acknowledging that in modern times a small but increasing proportion of the market will consist of consumers who do not follow the model, exert consumer independence and make consumption decisions for themselves. The model can also be applied with the same caveat to predominantly Christian former colonies of the United Kingdom such as Canada and the United States which originally imported their burial culture from the 'mother country' but then modified aspects of it in response to complex cycle of consumer expectation, demand and supply. Japan, perhaps as a result of westernisation first by the British and then the Americans, is an example of a non-Christian, non-English-speaking country where the model applies in its entirety with the number of do-it-yourself consumers being infinitesimally small (Suzuki 2003). The application of the model to other Christian non-English-speaking background countries is more problematic as various models combining Church and State have emerged, with consumers and intermediaries cast in different roles and power relationships. Extending the FCM to other classes of consumer goods is possible.

The FCM is the first model of consumption which places the intermediary where the name suggests that it belongs; in the middle, between the manufacturer and the end consumer and between the individual and the institutional consumers because the intermediary essentially serves the same function for both classes of consumer. The model provides a framework to understand the consumer decision making processes which determine which goods from a wide range of possibilities are actually consumed and end up in the archaeological record or reference collections. In the case of funerary consumption in colonial Brisbane, the significance of the archaeological record has increased due to the paucity of other forms of documentary evidence, especially those which capture the consumption habits of the middle class.





Chapter Nine – Rest in peace

The Queen is dead. Long live the King! The passing of Queen Victoria in January 1901 marked the end of an era synonymous with excessive funerary ritual. However, the Queen's own funeral obsequies were accompanied by little of the pomp and spectacle which would have been expected had the event taken place 40 years earlier (Packard 2000:250-6). The etiquette books also tempered their advice. "The love of parade and show which used to attend funerals has been largely abolished by good taste though it was still necessary to restrain enthusiastic undertakers, whose interests were served by ostentation rather than simplicity" (Campbell 1893:211).

No evidence emerged through the analysis of actual consumption that Brisbane's undertakers were overly 'enthusiastic' in the provision of their goods and services. They responded to the demands of their clients who in turn were influenced by the forces exerted on them by the various reference groups to which they sought membership. A major achievement of this thesis is that it is the first detailed analysis of funerary consumption in Brisbane for any time period. Brisbane (and Queensland) has not been well covered in previous, more generalised studies in the field (e.g. Griffin and Tobin (1997) and Jalland (2002)). This may be due in some part to the unavailability or inaccessibility of comparative data. Although great progress has been made in the digitisation of primary source material, there are gaps which can only be bridged partially by using existing methodologies.

The major barrier to acquiring this knowledge is the uneven survival of primary records detailing the purchases made by individuals, institutions and intermediaries and corresponding illustrative material. Kephart (1950:637) commented on the difficulties in obtaining access to undertaker and cemetery records as they were primarily held in private hands, usually by the enterprise which generated them. Such access is not the issue in Brisbane, as these records are readily available in repositories, although their accessibility and arrangement is determined by the purpose for which they were preserved. Instead the issue is the lack of coverage (see Chapter Three). Therefore, it remains difficult to calculate, for example, the average cost of a Brisbane funeral in the 1860s and the proportion of a family's income that it comprised. However, one of the most significant

outcomes of the study is the drawing together of disparate strands of evidence to create a body of knowledge of funerary consumption where none previously existed. It provides an additional avenue to understand the attitudes and behaviours of Brisbane's colonial era population, which itself is understudied.

The Funerary Consumption Model (FCM) developed as part of this research can serve to guide investigators to trace the flow of goods from the manufacturer to the consumer and ultimately into the archaeological record, and to identify points at which documentary evidence would have been generated. If the funeral was purchased by an institutional consumer, the funerary goods and services followed a different consumption path to that of individual consumers (Jaakkola 2007). Through the identification of the type of consumer (individual verses institutional), it is possible to quantify the type of funeral the deceased received and, to a certain extent, qualify the purchasing experience of the bereaved. In the case of individually purchased funerals, knowledge of the grave class adds a degree of precision to these interpretations.

Thesis findings

Overall, Brisbane's funerary consumption was found to be a simplified and cheaper form of contemporary British practice. There is no surviving documentary evidence that the range of goods presented in Table 10 played any role in a Brisbane funeral after 1859. However, climatic conditions may also have played a role in reducing the excesses of consumption which otherwise might have occurred. For example, woollen scarves needed not to be presented to clergy reading the burial service at the grave-side for warmth. Additionally, bespoke printed cards inviting mourners to a funeral were not sent and an advertisement was placed in the newspaper only if time (and financial resources) permitted.

This simplified funerary consumption evolved over the course of the study period. The public became conditioned to seeing less and less conspicuous consumption until it reached a point that overblown pageantry was no longer seen as 'the done thing'. By the late-19th century, those who still engaged in such consumption (e.g. hoteliers) did so in the knowledge of the image projected.

State funerals for exceptionally prominent individuals (i.e. Governor Musgrave in 1888) cost the public purse significantly less than their equivalents in the United Kingdom (Jalland 1996:196-7). Not only were the funerary attendants kept to the bare minimum, as there was no lying in state, further consumption of black drapery was unnecessary.

However, such consumption persisted in the Catholic Church for the funerals of its religious members to the end of the study period.

The gulf which existed in the United Kingdom in the quality of Workhouse (i.e. institutional) funerals and those of the poorest working class was less evident in Brisbane. Even at its meanest, a Brisbane Hospital funeral was less of an object of revulsion than its English equivalent to the extent that some families made concerted efforts to acquire one.

What factors influenced the consumption of funerary goods and services in Brisbane in the last half of the 19th century?

The over-arching factor influencing funerary consumption by both individual and institutional consumers is that of the short interval between death and burial which remained unchanged for the duration of the study period. The bereaved took the most expedient, conventional route for the disposal of their dead. The funeral remained the one major financial obligation where consumers were disinclined to 'shop-around' to compare prices, possibly because it may be seen as unseemly. In any case, the comparison of the cost of funerals across three undertaking establishments in 1900 showed a remarkable degree of uniformity in the provision of goods and services at particular price points. However, once an establishment had been selected by the consumer, there was the potential for upselling unnecessary funerary paraphernalia to the bereaved. Despite this, some families stayed loyal to a particular firm for decades.

Institutional consumers, such as hospitals, had little interest in the ultimate disposition after the removal of the corpse from their institutions, which was effected as rapidly as possible. Counter-intuitively, the one funerary innovation which could have staved off the worst excesses of heat and decomposition allowing funerals to be delayed for the convenience of the bereaved, arterial embalming was largely eschewed by the population of Brisbane.

What factors influenced the consumer behaviour of the families and friends of the deceased in the dignified disposal of the remains?

An individual's consumer behaviour was influenced by their social-cultural environment which incorporated membership in various groups (i.e. primary, formal and even shopping groups). Members of these reference groups looked to aspirational groups for inspiration regarding purchasing decisions. Queen Victoria's mourning, it can be argued (at least in the early period of her widowhood), was the point of reference which others chose to emulate. Ambitious members of the middle class were most likely to attempt to copy the funerals of the upper classes, although probably not realising that the upper classes had more freedom of choice and the ability to do exactly as they pleased. Access to financial

resources may have acted as an enabler but the total expenditure was not a strong indicator of social class. Not only did members of the upper class spend a much lower proportion of their total wealth, they generally spent less overall than ambitious members of groups who used funerary display to advertise that they had 'arrived'.

How did the funerary consumption of institutions differ from the consumption made by family and friends?

Government-funded institutional consumption was governed by legislation, regulation and the institution's own internal policies and procedures. As such, Brisbane's institutions should have been immune to the marketing efforts made by undertakers on the population at large. Institutions almost exclusively buried the impoverished; the burial of whom by individuals barely rate a mention. However, institutions were accountable to those who provided the funding and held up to scrutiny in the pages of the local newspapers over their treatment of the pauper dead. Institutions could fix the price which they were prepared to pay and which the undertakers had the choice of taking or leaving. Individual consumers could not wield the same degree of power. While some individual consumers dispensed with their services altogether, most stayed loyal to a particular firm. As dissatisfaction with an undertaker's service or price concerning the burial of a non-institutionalised individual was never vented in public, it is difficult to determine what, if any action was taken by the consumer to remedy the situation.

The expenditure by religious institutions, represented in this thesis by the Catholic Church, on their 'employees' (i.e. those in Holy Orders) was significantly higher on male religious than on female religious or ordinary members of the laity, although prominent laypeople were afforded the privilege of a mass said in the Cathedral.

To what extent did undertakers mediate the consumer behaviour of individuals and institutions?

Undertakers were the conduit through which funerary goods and services flowed. For example, if an individual consumer wanted a 'proper' coffin with the conventional trimmings, they had little choice but to make their purchases through an undertaker, as coffin furniture was not manufactured in the Australian colonies in the study period. Undertakers selected and imported a small range from the seemingly endless array of coffin furniture which was available in the United Kingdom. They therefore imposed their personal preferences onto their clients. Even if clients were aware that there was a greater choice available in Sydney, for instance, the goods could not be ordered and sent to Brisbane in under two days, even after the advent of the telegraph and railway.

An undertaker's personal membership of a formal group such as a religious congregation or fraternal or friendship society was a significant factor in bringing business to their firm. This pull factor often ceased when the undertaker stopped being a member of the group. Brisbane's undertakers had little influence on institutional consumers especially in regard to the fees paid to them. These rose and (more often than not) fell with the tender process.

What is the relationship between grave class and the range of funerary goods and services consumed?

There is a clear difference in the type of funeral consumption in Class Four burials and the others as this was dictated by their institutional consumers. Although conducted as cheaply as possible, Class Four burials in Brisbane were more humane than their British counterparts. Even so, there was a tendency for consumers to avoid them if possible by purchasing a Class Three burial unless they were so desperately poor that they exploited institutional consumers for the disposal of their corpses.

The distinction between Classes One and Two is blurred as higher end Class Two burials cost more than lower end Class One burials. This is not surprising as in a number of smaller cemeteries there was no division of private graves into two classes. Reflecting the findings of Kephart (1950) and Pine and Phillips (1970), a number of socially elite, educated consumers requested simpler, cheaper funerals. These consumers had no aspirational motivations and did not need a great funerary display to cement their place in the social hierarchy. Apart from state funerals and those of Catholic clergy, Brisbane's most conspicuous displays of funerary consumption were paid for by the families of publicans, merchants and elite tradesmen.

Class Three burials showed a range of consumption. While most were simple, cheap affairs, on occasions Class One levels of expenditure were made on a funeral resulting in a Class Three grave; the display evidently being more important than the burial place.

As many elements of funerary consumption (plumes, hearses etc.) do not enter the archaeological record of a burial ground, the FCM assists with the identification of the elements which would have comprised the funeral package. If, through grave class, location or documentary evidence, the burial can be identified as belonging to an individual consumer, the consumption of 'above-ground' elements can be predicted. If the burial is deemed institutional, although these are harder to identify in the Brisbane archaeological context, the lack of conspicuous consumption is equally predictable.

Avenues for further research

World War One is often described as the end of the 'long Victorian era' and the mass carnage it brought further simplified the funerary practices both in the United Kingdom and Australia and the suppression of both overt grief and conspicuous funerary consumption. Jalland (2006) maps the change and development of the Australian funeral business in the 20th century but, as in her previous work (Jalland 2002), cites little Brisbane data. Therefore, the FCM can be used as a framework to guide future research into the funeral industry in Brisbane (and Australia) and map the impact that World War One had on funerary consumption.

The advent of new technology (e.g. motor vehicles) and new means of corpse disposal (cremation) undoubtedly impacted on the funeral industry in the 20th century, but this impact on consumption patterns and consumer decision-making behaviour has not been investigated or quantified. Again the FCM can be applied to compare and contrast consumer behaviour across different timeframes and jurisdictions. Alternatively, the consumer decisions made by particular groups (e.g. Irish Catholics or German Lutherans) can be studied in detail.

Through the course of the project, a practical application for the archaeological investigation of unmarked sub-adult burials emerged from the intensive analysis of the undertakers' records. As the undertaker recorded both the age of the deceased and the length of coffin purchased, this data can be used in reverse i.e. from the length of a coffin measured in an archaeological context, the age range of the deceased can be calculated. In addition, as a very large data set is available for Brisbane from 1883 to the 1970s, the change in the height to age ratio by sex can be measured over time.

Conspicuous funerary consumption was procured by the living in order not only to show their esteem for the dead but to signal their status to their peers and to society in general. But who benefitted? It certainly was not the dead; they were in a state of ignorant bliss. It was not always the bereaved, some of whom went into ruinous debt for the sake of a good display. It was the men and women in the middle.



List of References

Adams, J. and K. Colls.

2007 *"Out of darkness, cometh light": life and death in nineteenth-century Wolverhampton: excavation of the overflow burial ground of St Peter's Collegiate Church, Wolverhampton, 2001-2002.* Oxford: Archaeopress.

Adams, N.

1972 *Dead and buried? The horrible history of bodysnatching.* Aberdeen: Impulse.

Adburgham, A.

1964 *Shops and shopping, 1800-1914: where, and in what manner the well-dressed English-woman bought her clothes.* London: Allen and Unwin.

Aitken, W.C.

1866 Coffin Furniture. In S. Timmins (ed.) *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District: A Series of Reports, collected by the Local Industries Committee of the British Association at Birmingham, in 1865.* London: Hardwicke.

Allen, D.S.

2002 *The Mason coffins: metallic burial cases in the central south.* South Central Historical Archaeology Conference, Jackson, Mississippi.

American & Australasian Photographic Company.

1873a *William T. Lewis, undertaker, Gulgong.* Sydney: Mitchell Library, ON 4 Box 2 No 18168.

1873b *John A. Courtis, cabinet-maker & undertaker, Gulgong.* Sydney: Mitchell Library, ON 4 Box 3 No 18311.

Anglican Church of Southern Queensland.

1865 *Burial register 1843 – 1865.* CATHS030. BA 1-3-1. Brisbane: Anglican Records and Archives Centre.

Argus.

1 January 1856:1.

Ariès, P.

1975 *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en Occident du Moyen-Age à nos jours.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Arnold, C.

2007 *Necropolis: London and its dead.* London: Pocket Books.

Arnos Vale Cemetery Friends.

2007 *Arnos Vale, Bristol: a Victorian cemetery.* Bristol: Redcliffe.

Atkins, B.L.

2002 *Widow's weeds & weeping veils: mourning rituals in 19th century America.* Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: B. L. Atkins.

Attwooll, J.

2014 13 reasons to visit a museum about... coffin fittings. *Telegraph* 2 December 2014, www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/uk/centralengland/11256473/13-reasons-to-visit-the-Newman-Brothers-Coffin-Fittings-Museum.html [accessed 15 December 2014].

Australian Town and Country Journal.

22 January 1898:7, 30 April 1898:24.

- Banner, S.
1997 *Does Topography Influence the Choices People Make in Response to Death? An Analysis of Waverly Cemetery*. Unpublished Honours Thesis, University of Sydney.
- Bard, R.
2008 *Graveyard London: lost and forgotten burial grounds*. London: Historical Publications.
- Barnard, S.M.
2009 *To prove I'm not forgot: Living and dying in a Victorian City*. Revised edn. Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press.
- Barrett, J.
1966 *That Better Country: The religious aspect of life in Eastern Australia, 1835 - 1850*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Bearden, W.O. and M.J. Etzel.
1982 Reference Group Influence on Product and Brand Purchase Decisions. *Journal of Consumer Research* 9(2):183-194.
- Bashford, L. and L. Sibun.
2007 Excavations at the Tyrer Burial Ground, Kingston-upon-Thames, London. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 41(1):100-54.
- Bell, E.L.
1990 The Historical Archaeology of Mortuary Behavior: Coffin Hardware from Uxbridge, Massachusetts. *Historical Archaeology* 24(3):54 -78.
- Berryman, H.E., W.M. Bass, S.A. Symes and O. Smith
1991 Recognition of Cemetery Remains in the Forensic Setting. *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 36(1):230-7.
- Blainey, G.
2003 *The rush that never ended: a history of Australian mining*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Blythe, J.
2013 *Consumer behaviour*. 2nd edn. London: Sage.
- Board of Trade Patents Designs and Trade Marks Office.
1839-1889 Patents, Designs and Trade Marks Office and predecessor: *Ornamental Design Act 1842: Registers*. TNA BT43/1 - BT43/56.
- Boland, T.P.
1964 "The Queensland Immigration Society": a notable experiment in Irish settlement. *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*. 7(2):307-321.
- Bondeson, J.
2002 *Buried alive: the terrifying history of our most primal fear*. London: W.W. Norton.
- Boston, C.
2005 *The Archaeological Experience at St Luke's Church Old Street Islington*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.
- Boston, C., A. Witkin, A. Boyle and D. Wilkinson
2008 *"Safe moor'd in Greenwich tier": a study of the skeletons of Royal Navy sailors and marines excavated at the Royal Hospital Greenwich*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Boston, C., A. Boyle, J. Gill and A. Witkin.

2009 *'In the vaults beneath': archaeological recording at St. George's Church Bloomsbury*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Brady, E. J.

1890 The clerk and the capitalist. *Centennial Magazine*. 3: 93-96.

Brandon, D. and A. Brooke.

2008 *London: city of the dead*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press.

Brewer, J. and R. Porter.

1993 *Consumption and the world of goods*. New York: Routledge.

Brickley, M. and S. Buteux.

2006 *St Martin's Uncovered: Investigations in the churchyard of St Martin's in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, 2001*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Brisbane Courier

13 July 1864:3, 17 May 1865:1, 9 August 1865:1, 3 October 1865:1, 14 December 1865:2, 6 January 1866:1, 19 January 1866:2, 30 January 1866:1, 14 February 1866:5, 21 February 1866:2, 5 March 1866:1, 8 March 1866:1, 10 March 1866:2, 16 March 1866:2, 30 June 1866:2, 11 September 1866:2, 29 September 1866:8, 4 October 1866:1, 20 November 1866:3, 18 January 1867:2, 16 March 1867:7, 26 March 1867:1, 21 September 1867:5, 14 November 1867:2, 17 January 1868:3, 26 March 1868:1, 6 January 1869:3, 13 July 1869:3, 3 August 1869:1, 7 August 1869:1, 18 December 1869:2, 8 June 1870:2, 10 August 1870:1, 31 December 1870:1, 3 January 1871:2, 4 January 1871:1-2, 6 January 1871:2, 1 February 1871:1, 19 August 1871:1, 11 August 1872:1, 27 August 1872:2, 31 August 1872:1-5, 3 September 1872:1, 21 December 1872:8, 3 April 1873:2, 4 April 1873:3, 1 January 1874:1, 5 June 1875:1, 8 June 1875:1, 24 August 1875:2, 14 September 1875:2, 27 September 1875:2, 12 October 1875:3, 13 October 1875:3, 26 October 1875:3, 11 December 1875:6, 31 December 1875:3, 17 February 1876:2, 19 February 1876:4, 1 March 1876:1, 29 April 1876:4, 3 July 1876:6, 16 January 1877:3, 2 February 1877:1, 5 March 1877:2, 15 June 1877:2, 2 November 1877:1, 17 November 1877:5, 29 November 1877:1, 22 December 1877:6, 26 March 1879:3, 5 July 1879:5, 17 September 1879:9, 15 October 1879:5, 25 October 1879:1, 29 October 1879:1-3, 7 November 1879:3, 10 December 1879:5, 28 January 1880:6, 16 March 1880:2, 14 June 1880:3, 16 June 1880:3, 5 January 1881:2, 22 February 1881:1, 17 June 1881:2, 20 August 1881:5, 21 December 1881:2, 2 January 1882:5, 12 February 1883:1, 19 February 1883:1, 28 February 1883:1, 3 July 1883:8, 2 August 1883:5, 1 September 1883:7, 15 October 1883:1, 23 February 1884:2-5, 15 May 1884:5, 29 May 1884:3, 29 May 1884:1, 2 June 1884:1, 9 June 1884:1, 21 June 1884:4, 8 July 1884:4, 17 December 1881:4, 11 February 1885:1, 27 June 1885:1, 30 June 1885:4, 17 July 1885:5, 1 September 1885:4, 2 September 1885:5, 16 September 1885:2, 14 October 1885:2, 27 October 1885:3, 20 May 1886:1, 4 June 1886:8, 15 July 1886:1, 14 October 1886:5, 9 November 1886:3, 18 January 1887:7, 2 February 1887:5, 31 May 1887:6, 1 June 1887:4, 25 August 1887:4, 1 September 1887:4, 3 October 1887:4, 20 December 1887:2, 22 December 1887:2, 23 November 1888:1, 25 March 1889:1, 12 April 1889:8, 8 June 1889:9, 2 December 1889:2, 11 January 1890:4, 20 January 1890:7, 18 February 1890:1, 21 April 1890:1, 13 May 1890:1, 24 May 1890:7, 27 July 1891:1, 25 September 1891:5, 15 October 1891:8, 26 December 1891:5, 8 February 1893:2, 14 February 1893:1, 20 March 1893:8, 22 April 1893:2, 24 October 1893:3, 27 November 1893:1, 16 August 1894:1, 7 January 1895:4, 22 April 1895:2, 30 April 1895:1-5, 18 May 1895:4, 23 May 1895:1, 30 May 1895:1, 18 June 1895:4, 3 July 1895:8, 2 September 1895:5, 4 September 1895:1, 7 October 1895:5, 28 November 1895:1, 29 November 1895:1, 6 December 1895:4, 20 January 1896:6, 27 February 1896:4, 4 March 1896:1, 12 March 1896:1, 30 May 1896:8, 20 June 1896:1, 10

July 1896:1, 27 July 1896:6, 29 August 1896:6, 7 September 1896:1, 26 October 1896:5, 23 December 1896:7, 26 December 1896:1, 4 March 1897:6, 9 July 1897:1, 17 July 1897:12, 31 July 1897:4, 23 August 1897:6, 20 May 1898:1, 2 August 1898:8, 17 Oct 1898:4, 31 December 1898:9, 9 January 1899:5, 14 January 1899:2, 22 March 1899:10, 21 June 1899:2, 24 June 1899:2, 22 July 1899:3, 31 August 1899:1, 6 September 1899:8, 30 September 1899:5, 16 September 1899:6, 2 October 1899:1, 4 October 1899:1, 8 January 1900:1, 31 January 1900:4, 21 March 1900:6-8, 21 April 1900:8, 24 April 1900:4, 17 May 1900:6, 2 June 1900:1, 4 July 1900:3, 13 December 1900:6, 11 April 1901:4, 25 May 1901:2, 14 June 1901:6, 23 October 1901:10, 4 November 1901:8, 29 April 1902:4, 29 July 1902:6, 1 January 1903:5, 21 April 1904:2, 12 December 1907:4, 10 March 1909:1, 11 May 1916:10, 18 January 1918:9, 24 October 1931:24.

Brisbane General Cemetery Trust.

1871-1884 *Brisbane General Cemetery Burial Register Book 1 - 1 to G346*. Toowong: Toowong Cemetery.

1884-1893 *Brisbane General Cemetery Burial Register Book 2 – G347 to P556*. Toowong: Toowong Cemetery.

1893-1903 *Brisbane General Cemetery Burial Register Book 3 – P557 to Y450*. Toowong: Toowong Cemetery.

1870-1901 *Minute Books*. Brisbane: QSA Item ID 867375.

1875-1891 *Register of Fees Received for Burials in the Brisbane General Cemetery*. QSA Item ID M5195.

1924 *Brisbane General Cemetery Trust 1874 – 1924: Fifty Years of Service*. Brisbane: Brisbane General Cemetery Trust.

Brisbane Hospital.

1884 - 1885 *Cash Book*. QSA Item ID2885.

1899 - 1913 *Register of deaths and special removals*: QSA Item ID 2887.

Brisbane Hospital Committee.

1862 - 1864 *Minute Book*: QSA Item ID 2871.

1865 - 1867 *Minute Book*: QSA Item ID 2872.

1883 *Rules of the Brisbane Hospital adopted by the subscribers in a public meeting on May 31st, 1883*. Brisbane: Colonial Secretaries Office.

1901 *Annual report for 1900*. Brisbane.

Brown-May, A. and S. Cooke

2004 *Death, Decency and the Dead-House: The City Morgue in Colonial Melbourne. Provenance: The Journal of the Public Record Office Victoria* 3:4 - 20.

Buckham, S.

1999 'The men that worked for England they have their graves at home': consumerist issues within the production and purchase of gravestones in Victorian York. In S. Tarlow and S. West (eds) *The familiar past? archaeologies of later historical Britain*, pp. 199-214. London: Routledge.

2002 *Meeting one's maker: Commemoration and consumer choice in York Cemetery*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York.

Cairns Post.

13 August 1887:3.

Campbell, G.E.

1893 *Etiquette of good society*. London: Cassell & Co.

- Cannon & Cripps.
1900 [Undertakers Records] [Microfiche 815/059]. Brisbane: GSQ.
- Cassell & Co.
1860 *The Hand-book of Etiquette being a Complete Guide to the Usages of Polite Society*. London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin.
1869 *Cassell's Household Guide: being a complete encyclopædia of domestic and social economy and forming a guide to every department of Practical Life*. London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin.
- Caswell, G.
2011 Personalisation in Scottish funerals: Individualised ritual or relational process. *Mortality* 16(3):242-258.
- Chadwick, E.
1843 *Report on the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great-Britain: A supplementary report on the results of a special inquiry into the practice of interment in towns*. London: W. Clowes.
- Chamberlain, L.
2014 The 'Regatta Hotel': A story of triumph over adversity. *Queensland History Journal* 22(5):387-400.
- Chambers, D.
1990 *No funerals on picnic day! Victorian funeral industry associations, 1890-1990*. East Kew, Victoria: Australian Funeral Directors Association Victorian Division.
1994 *One hundred years of Le Pine 1891-1991*. South Melbourne, Victoria: Hyland House.
- Charleville Times*.
1 October 1898:2, 7 September 1901:2.
- Chenoweth, J.M.
2009 Social identity, material culture, and the archaeology of religion: Quaker practices in context. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 9(3):319-40.
- Cherryson, A., Z. Crossland and S. Tarlow.
2012 *A fine and private place: the archaeology of death and burial in post-medieval Britain and Ireland*. Leicester: University of Leicester.
- Chinese Australian Herald*.
10 August 1895:7
- Church, R.A. and B.M.D. Smith.
1966 Competition and Monopoly in the Coffin Furniture Industry, 1870-1915. *The Economic History Review* 19(3):621-641.
- Ciaraldi, M.
2006 Plant Offerings. In M. Brickley and S. Buteux, (eds) *St Martin's Uncovered: Investigations in the churchyard of St Martin's in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, 2001*, pp. 184-6. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Clark, L.
1987 Gravestones - Reflectors of Ethnicity or Class? In S.M. Spencer-Wood (ed.) *Consumer choice in historical archaeology*, pp. 383-395. New York: Plenum.
- Clark, R.A. and R.E. Goldsmith.
2005 Market mavens: Psychological influences. *Psychology & Marketing* 22(4):289-312.

- Clarke, J.M.
2004 *London's Necropolis : a guide to Brookwood Cemetery*. Stroud: Sutton.
- Cleveland, C.
1873 The etiquette of mourning. *Harper's Bazaar* 6(11):171.
- Coghlan, T.A.
1969 *Labour and industry in Australia from the first settlement in 1788 to the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901*. In 4 volumes. Melbourne: Macmillan Australia.
- Connell, B. and A. Miles.
2010 *The City Bunhill burial ground, Golden Lane, London: excavations at South Islington schools, 2006*. London: Museum of London Archaeology.
- Connell, P.
2008 News from the Mercy Heritage Centre. *In Focus* (December):8.
- Cook, L.J., R. Yamin and J.P. McCarthy.
1996 Shopping as Meaningful Action: Toward a Redefinition of Consumption in Historical Archaeology. *Historical Archaeology* 30(4):50-65.
- Corkhill, W.H.
1895 *Funeral of Queen Narelle, Wallaga Lake*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, William Henry Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, 2511328.
1900 *Woman holding a young child*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, William Henry Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, 2479070.
- Coultas, D.
1997 *Randwick Destitute Children's Asylum Cemetery. Volume 2. Archaeology Part 4: Artefact Report*. Godden Mackay Pty Ltd.
- Courier*.
2 August 1861:3, 19 August 1861:3, 30 October 1861:3, 14 January 1862:2, 25 January 1862:3, 6 March 1862:2, 25 April 1862:1, 28 April 1862:2, 7 August 1862:3, 25 September 1862:1-4, 15 November 1862:1, 12 December 1862:2, 16 January 1863:2, 5 February 1863:3, 6 February 1863:3, 21 April 1863:1, 21 April 1863:4, 18 July 1863:6, 1 August 1863:6, 13 November 1863:2, 14 November 1863:2, 2 December 1863:3, 4 December 1863:3, 12 December 1863:5, 11 February 1864:1, 9 April 1864:1.
- Courier Mail*.
12 September 1934:20.
- Cowie, R., J. Bekvalac and T. Kausmally.
2008 *Late 17th- to 19th-century burial and earlier occupation at All Saints, Chelsea Old Church, Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea*. London: Museum of London Archaeology Service.
- Crook, D.P.
1958 *Aspects of Brisbane society in the eighteen-eighties*. Unpublished Honours Thesis, University of Queensland.
- Crook, P.
1999 *The Meaningless Public Smile? Housing, Mass Consumption and Material Ambiguity in the Rocks, Sydney (c1833 - c1931)*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sydney.
2000 Shopping and Historical Archaeology: Exploring the Contexts of Urban Consumption. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 18:17-28.

- Curl, J.S.
1972 *The Victorian Celebration of Death*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles.
- Cunnington, P. and C. Lucas.
1972 *Costume for births, marriages and deaths*. London: Adam & Charles Black.
- Darity, W.A. (ed.).
2008 Consumption. In W. A. Darity (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. 2nd edn. Vol. 2 pp. 105-109. Detroit: Macmillan Reference.
- Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser*.
11 May 1872:4
- Davey, R.
1889 *A History of Mourning*. London: Jay's.
- Davidson, J.M. and R.C. Mainfort, Jr.
2008 Two Late Nineteenth-Century Cemeteries in Northwest Arkansas: A Study in Contrasts. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 67(4):414-428.
- Dawson, C.
2006 *The Prisoners of Toowong Cemetery: Life, death and the old Petrie Terrace Gaol*. Fairfield Gardens, Queensland: Boggo Road Gaol Historical Society.
- Department of Environment and Heritage Protection.
2013 Toowong Cemetery. <https://heritage-register.ehp.qld.gov.au/placeDetail.html?siteId=16510> [accessed 31 January 2015].
- Dickens, C.
1850 From the Raven in the Happy Family. *Household words / conducted by Charles Dickens* 1(11):241-242.
1852 Trading in Death. *Household words / conducted by Charles Dickens* 6(140):241-245.
- Dornan, D. and D. Cryle.
1991 *The Petrie family building colonial Brisbane*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- Elzas, B.
1915 *The book of life: services and ceremonies observed at the death bed, house of mourning and cemetery, together with prayers on visiting the graves*. New York: Bloch.
- Emery, P.A. and K. Wooldridge (eds).
2011 *St Pancras burial ground: excavations for St Pancras International, the London terminus of High Speed 1, 2002-3*. London: Museum of London Archaeology.
- England, M. (ed.).
2012 *Toowong: 1863-2011*. Toowong, Queensland: Toowong History Group.
- Erskine, M.
1902 *Etiquette in Australia*. Sydney: William Brooks & Co.
- Evans, R.
1969 *Charitable institutions of the Queensland government to 1919*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Queensland.
2007 *A history of Queensland*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Evening Bulletin*.
24 January 1903:6.

- Fahy, K., C. Simpson and A. Simpson.
1985 *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture*. Sydney: David Ell.
- Farrell, J.J.
1980 *Inventing the American way of death, 1830-1920*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Faust, D.G.
2008 *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. New York: Random House.
- Filmer-Mason, J.
1998 *Christ Church Milton: A Heritage Church*. Milton, Queensland: Christ Church 125th Anniversary Committee.
- Fisher, R. and B. Shaw (eds).
1994 *Brisbane: Cemeteries as Sources*. Brisbane: Brisbane History Group.
- Fitzgerald, R.
1982 *From the dreaming to 1915: a history of Queensland*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- Fitzgerald, R., L.T. Megarritty and D. Symons
2009 *Made in Queensland: a new history*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- Flanders, J.
2003 *The Victorian house: domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*. London: Harper Collins.
- Freeman, J.
2001 The Cemetery Buildings. In J.S. Curl (ed.) *Kensal Green Cemetery: the origins and development of the General Cemetery of All Souls, Kensal Green, London, 1824-2001*, pp. 158-171. Chichester: Phillimore.
- Freeman's Journal*.
6 January 1894:12, 11 May 1895:16, 24 August 1895:16.
- Foddy, W.H.
1988 *Elementary applied statistics for the social sciences*. Sydney: Harper and Row.
- Giorgi, J.
2011 Plant Remains. In P.A. Emery and K. Wooldridge (eds) *St Pancras burial ground: excavations for St Pancras International, the London terminus of High Speed 1, 2002-3*, pp. 188-9. London: Museum of London Archaeology.
- Good Funerals Guide www.goodfuneralguide.co.uk [accessed 7 September 2014].
- Gordon & Gotch.
1882 *Slater's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Gazetteer for 1882*. Brisbane: Gordon & Gotch.
1885 *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Law Calendar, Directory, Coast Guide, Gazetteer and "Men of the Time" for 1885*. Brisbane: Gordon & Gotch.
1898 *Pugh's Almanac and Queensland Directory for 1898*. Brisbane: Gordon & Gotch.
- Gow, R.A.
1993 Reflections of Australia's Oldest (We Think) Funeral Director. *Generation* 15(4):150-153.

- Grant, G. and G. Benjamin.
2008 *Reflections on New Farm*. New Farm, Queensland: New Farm & Districts Historical Society.
- Green, J.W.
2008 *Beyond the good death: the anthropology of modern dying*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gregory, H.
1994 Introducing Nudgee: Suburb, institutions and cemetery. In R. Fisher and Shaw, B. (eds) *Brisbane: Cemeteries as Sources*, pp. 94-101. Brisbane: Brisbane History Group.
- Griffin, G.M. and D. Tobin.
1997 *In the Midst of Life: the Australian Response to Death*. revised edn. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Gympie Times*.
28 August 1880:2.
- Hacker, D. and M. Trinkley.
1984 *Remember man thou art dust: coffin hardware of the early twentieth century*. Colombia, South Carolina: Chicora Foundation.
- Haines, R.
2003 *Life and Death in the Age of Sail: the Passage to Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Halls, J.
2013 Questions of attribution: Registered designs at The National Archives *Journal of Design History* 26(4):416 - 32.
- Harding, C.J.
1987 Post-medieval Coffin Furniture. In R.D. Bell and M. W. Beresford (eds) *Wharram: A Study of Settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds III*, pp. 150-153. Wharram Percy: The Church of St Martin.
- Hardwick, C.
1872 *Traditions, Superstitions and Folk-lore: Chiefly Lancashire and the North of England, Their Affinity to Others in Widely-distributed Localities, Their Eastern Origin and Mythical Significance*. Manchester: A. Ireland & Co.
- Harrison, J.
2011 The Children's Burial Vault in Convict Brisbane - revisited. *Queensland History Journal* 21(5):283-295.
- Haslam, M., J. Prangnell, L. Kirkwood, A. McKeough, A. Murphy and T.H. Loy.
2003 A Lang Park Mystery: Analysis of Remains from a 19th Century Burial in Brisbane, Queensland. *Australian Archaeology* (56):1-7.
- Hasluck, P.N.
1913 *Coffin-Making and Undertaking - Special Appliances, Lancashire Coffins, Southern Counties and Other Coffins, Children's Coffins, Adults' Covered Coffins, Polishing Coffins, Inscription Plates, Coffin Furniture, Trimming or Lining, Ornamented and Panelled*. London: Cassells.
- Henderson, M., A. Miles and D. Walker.
2013 *'He being dead yet speaketh': excavations at three post-medieval burial grounds in Tower Hamlets, East London, 2004-10*. London: Museum of London Archaeology.

- Henry, S.L.
1991 Consumers, Commodities, and Choices: A General Model of Consumer Behavior. *Historical Archaeology* 25(2):3-14.
- Higginbotham, E.
2002 *Report on the excavation of the Cadia Cemetery, Cadia Road, Cadia, New South Wales 1997 - 1998. Volume Three – Typologies*. Unpublished report for Cadia Holdings Pty Ltd, Haberfield, New South Wales: Edward Higginbotham and Associates Pty Ltd.
- Higginbotham, P.
2011 *Life in a Victorian workhouse: from 1834 to 1930*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Pitkin.
- Hoile, S.
2013 *Coffin Furniture in London c.1700-1850*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, London: University College.
- Hollingworth, P. and L. Comben
1999 *Memories of bush ministry and the challenge of the future*. Brisbane: Anglican Diocese of Brisbane.
- Holmes, I.
1896 *London burial grounds: notes on their history from the earliest times to the present day*. New York: Macmillan.
- Holzworth, P.
1999 *Monarchs of the woods: the story of the hoop pine in Queensland from settlement to the present*. Brisbane: Queensland Department of Primary Industries.
- Howarth, G.
2000 Australian funerals. In A. Kellehear (ed.) *Death and dying in Australia*, pp. 80-91. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Howe, R.
1966 "The Social Composition of the Wesleyan Church in Victoria during the 19th Century" *Journal of Religious History* 4 1966-7 206-17
- Howell, P.A.
1974 Lutwyche, Alfred James (1810–1880). *Australian Dictionary of Biography. Volume V*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, pp141-142.
- Ives, R. and I. Hogg
2012 *St John's School, Peel Grove, Bethnal Green, London Borough of Tower Hamlets: A Post-Excavation Assessment Report*. Twickenham: AOC Archaeology Group.
- Jaakkola, E.
2007 Purchase decision-making within professional consumer services: Organizational or consumer buying behaviour? *Marketing Theory* 7(1):93-108.
2011 Unraveling the practices of "productization" in professional service firms. *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 27(2):221–230.
- Jalland, P.
1996 *Death in the Victorian Family*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2002 *Australian Ways of Death: a Social and Cultural History 1840-1918*. South Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press.
2006 *Changing ways of death in twentieth century Australia: war, medicine and the funeral business*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

- Jarrott, K.
1998 *Pins, petticoats and ploughs: Cribb & Foote, universal providers to Ipswich and district from 1849 to 1977*. Sunnybank, Queensland: J. K. Jarrott.
- Johnson, M.
2013 *Crypts of London*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press.
- Johnston, W.J. and J.E. Lewin.
1996 Organizational buying behavior: Toward an integrative framework. *Journal of Business Research* 35(1):1-15.
- Johnston, W.R.
1988 *Brisbane, the first thirty years*. Bowen Hills, Queensland: Boolarong.
- Jones, B.M.
1967 *Design for Death*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Jupp, P.
2002 *From dust to ashes: the development of cremation in England, 1820-1997*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Karskens, G.
1998 Death Was in His Face: Dying, Burial and Remembrance in Early Sydney. *Labour History* (74):21-39.
- Kastenbaum, B. and R. Kastenbaum.
1993 *Encyclopedia of death*. New York: Avon.
- Kellehear, A. (ed.)
2000 *Death and dying in Australia*. South Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press.
2007 *A social history of dying*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kephart, W.M.
1950 Status after Death. *American Sociological Review* 15(5):635-643.
- Knight, J.J.
1897 *Brisbane: a historical sketch of the capital of Queensland, giving an outline of old-time events, with a description of Brisbane of the present day, and a municipal retrospect*. Brisbane: Biggs & Morcom.
- Kübler-Ross, E.
1969 *On death and dying*. London: Macmillan.
- Lampros, D.G.
2013 *Like a real home: The residential funeral home and America's changing vernacular landscape, 1910 – 1960*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Boston University.
- Lang, K.A.
1984 *Coffins and Caskets: Their Contribution to the Archaeological Record*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Idaho.
- Laqueur, T.
1983 Bodies, Death, and Pauper Funerals. *Representations* (1):109-31.
- Larkins, R.
2007 *Funeral rights*. Camberwell, Victoria: Viking.
- Laviolette, P.
2003 Landscaping Death: Resting Places for Cornish Identity. *Journal of Material Culture* 8(2):215-40.

- Lawley, I.
2005 *The Potteries*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Nonsuch.
- Lawrence, S.
1998 The Role of Material Culture in Australasian Archaeology. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 16:8-15.
- Lawrence, S. and P. Davies.
2011 Death. In *An Archaeology of Australia since 1788*, pp. 327-349. New York: Springer.
- Lawson, R.
1971 Brisbane in the 1890s: The Economic Shape of a Key Decade. *Economic Record* 47(120):568.
1973 *Brisbane in the 1890s: a study of an Australian urban society*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- LeeDecker, C.H.
2009 Preparing for an afterlife on Earth: the transformation of mortuary behavior in nineteenth-century North America. In D. Gaimster and T. Majewski (eds) *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, pp. 141-157. New York: Springer.
- Ling, C.
2001 *Plantings in a New Land: Stories of survival, endurance and emancipation*: Society of Chinese Australian Academics of Queensland.
- Litten, J.
1998 Dressed for death: the English shroud 1550-1850. Costume Society Annual Symposium, Hotel Norwich, Norfolk.
2002 *The English way of death: the common funeral since 1450*. London: Robert Hale.
- Liveris, L.B.
1991 *The Dismal Trader: The Undertaker Business in Perth, 1860-1939*. Perth: Australian Funeral Directors Association.
- Logan and Albert Advocate*.
23 September 1893:4.
- Logan Witness*.
27 October 1883:2.
- Maclean, H.
2012 The Undertakers' Picnic. In M. England (ed.) *Toowong 1863 - 2011*, pp. 66-71. Toowong, Queensland: Toowong Community Association.
- Maclean, H. and P. Firth.
2003 Toowong Cemetery. In S. Leggett and R. Grant (eds) *Toowong: a community's history*, pp. 47-51. Toowong, Queensland: Toowong Community Association.
- MacDonald, H.
2005 *Human remains: episodes in human dissection*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
2010 *Possessing the dead: the artful science of anatomy*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Mahoney-Swales, D., R. O'Neill and H. Willmott
2011 The Hidden Material Culture of Death: Coffins and Grave Goods in the Late 18th- and Early 19th-Century Sheffield. In C. King and D. Sayer (eds) *The archaeology of post-medieval religion*, pp. 215-29. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell.

- Maister, D.H.
1993 *Managing the professional service firm*. New York: Free Press.
- Maital, S. and D.V.R. Seshadri.
2012 *Innovation management: strategies, concepts and tools for growth and profit*. London: Sage.
- Majewski, T. and M.B. Schiffer.
2009 Beyond Consumption: Toward an Archaeology of Consumerism. In D. Gaimster and T. Majewski (eds) *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, pp. 191-207. New York: Springer.
- Manchester, K.
1984 Tuberculosis and Leprosy in Antiquity. *Medical History* 28:162-73.
- Martin, A.S.
1993 Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework. *Winterthur Portfolio* 28(2/3):141-157.
- Matic, A.
2002 'Here lie I because I am poor': *The History and Archaeology of the St. Mary's Anglican Churchyard Pauper Cemetery*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Flinders University.
- Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*.
16 January 1877: 2
- May, T.
2008 *The Victorian Undertaker*. Botley, Oxford: Shire.
- Mccarthy, R., S. Clough, A. Boyle and A. Norton.
2012 The Baptist Chapel burial ground, Littlemore, Oxford. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 46(2):281-90.
- McConnel, M.
1897 *Our children's hospital: a story of twenty-one years 1876 to 1897*. Brisbane: Thomson Brothers.
- McClurg, J.H.C.
1975 *Historical sketches of Brisbane*. Brisbane: Library Board of Queensland and Royal Historical Society of Queensland.
- McCracken-Flesher, C.
2012 *The doctor dissected: a cultural autopsy of the Burke and Hare murders*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McGowan, G.
2007 *Deterioration of human remains and artefacts in the cemetery environment: a study of archaeological materials excavated from the nineteenth century North Brisbane burial ground, Lang Park, Queensland*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Queensland.
- McGowan, G. and J. Prangnell.
2006 The significance of vivianite in archaeological settings. *Geoarchaeology* 21(1):93-111.
2009 'The truth will out': recycling of packing timber to construct a nineteenth Australian coffin. *Australian Archaeology* 68:56-58.
2011 Nineteenth-century buttons from the North Brisbane Burial Ground. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 29:13-23.

- McGowan, G. and J. Prangnell.
2015 A method for calculating soil pressure overlying human burials. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 53:12-18.
- McKillop, H.
1995 Recognizing Children's Graves in Nineteenth-Century Cemeteries: Excavations in St. Thomas Anglican Churchyard, Belleville, Ontario, Canada. *Historical Archaeology* 29(2):77-99.
- McKinley, J.I.
2008 *The 18th century Baptist church and burial ground at West Butts Street, Poole, Dorset*. Salisbury, England: Wessex Archaeology.
- McManus, R.
2013 *Death in a global age*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McNaught & Co.
1878 *Brisbane Directory*. Brisbane: McNaught & Co.
- Mehaffey, K.R.
1993 *The after-life: mourning rituals and the mid-Victorians*. Pipestone, Minnesota: Laser Writers.
- Meller, H. and B. Parsons
2011 *London Cemeteries: An Illustrated Guide and Gazetteer*. 5th edn: History Press.
- Miles, A.
2011 Coffin Furniture. In P.A. Emery and K. Wooldridge (eds) *St Pancras burial ground: excavations for St Pancras International, the London terminus of High Speed 1, 2002-3*, pp. 166-179. London: Museum of London Archaeology.
- Miles, A. and B. Connell.
2012 *New Bunhill Fields burial ground, Southwark: excavations at Globe Academy, 2008*. London: Museum of London Archaeology Service.
- Miller, S.
1900 *A. E. Atkins Funerals Records*, OMAQ, John Oxley Library, SLQ.
- Mitchell, B.
1866 Blanche Mitchell diary, 9 September-12 December 1866 [Unpublished Diary]. MLMSS 5278, State Library of New South Wales.
- Mitford, J.
2000 *The American Way of Death Revisited*. London: Virago.
- Moloney, F.J.
2001 *A Life of Promise: Poverty, Chastity, Obedience*. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock.
- Moreton Bay Courier*.
20 June 1846:1, 20 June 1846:3, 2 January 1847:1, 12 February 1848:2, 16 October 1852:4, 7 May 1853:3, 14 February 1856:3, 17 December 1859:3, 29 March 1860:3, 4 December 1860:2, 13 April 1861:1, 12 July 1861:4.
- Morley, J.
1971 *Death, heaven and the Victorians*. London: Studio Vista.
- Morning Bulletin*.
4 November 1879:2, 13 June 1900:1.

- Morris, J.S.C.
1862 *Business Directory of Birmingham*. London: J.S.C. Morris.
- Morrison, W.F.
1888 *Aldine history of Queensland: illustrated, embracing sketches and portraits of her noted people: the rise and progress of her varied enterprises: and illustrations of her boundless wealth, together with maps of latest survey*. Sydney: Aldine.
- Mullins, P.R.
2011 The Archaeology of Consumption. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40:133-144.
2012 *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*. Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida.
- Murakami, K.
2000 Changes in Japanese Urban Funeral Customs during the Twentieth Century. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 27(3/4):335-52.
- Murphy, A. and K. Rains.
2003 Material Culture of Burials from the Lang Park Redevelopment Site. In J. Prangnell (ed.) *Suncorp Stadium Archaeological Salvage Volume 4: Skeletal Material and Grave Artefacts*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit Report No. 358. Unpublished.
- Murray, L.
2003 'Modern innovations?' Ideal vs. reality in colonial cemeteries of nineteenth-century New South Wales. *Mortality* 8(2):129-43.
- Musgrave, L.
1888 *Diary*: Australian Joint Copying Project M412.
- New South Wales Government Gazette.
1859 (179):1995-1996.
- Nicol, R.
1986 *Aspects of death and burial in the colony of South Australia 1836-1901*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sydney.
- Nolan, C.
2009 *A family undertaking: Alex Gow Funerals: The history of a funeral business 1840-2009*. Newstead, Queensland: Alex Gow.
- North Australian*.
30 January 1864:2.
- North Eastern Ensign*.
5 September 1884:2.
- Northern Miner*.
30 November 1882:1, 24 October 1893:2, 29 September 1898:5, 30 September 1898:3.
- Oats, W.N.
1985 *A question of survival: Quakers in Australia in the nineteenth century*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- Observer*.
18 June 1895:2.

- Ochert, M.S.
1994 Headstones in the Jewish Cemetery at Toowong, Brisbane. *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 7(2):28-34.
- O'Dell, S.D.
1990 *Burial Garments in Central New York 1840 -1920*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Idaho.
- Office of Economic and Statistical Research.
2009 *Historical Tables for Society, 1859 to 2008 (Q150 Release)*. Brisbane: Queensland Treasury [Electronic Resource].
- Orser, C.E.
2004a *Historical archaeology*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
2004b *Race and practice in archaeological interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Owsley, D.W., K.S. Bruwelheide, L.W. Cartmell, Sr., L.E. Burgess, S.J. Foote, S.M. Chang and N. Fielder.
2006 The Man in the Iron Coffin: An Interdisciplinary Effort to Name the Past. *Historical Archaeology* 40(3):89-108.
- Packard, J.M.
2000 *Farewell in splendour: the death of Queen Victoria and her age*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton.
- Parker Pearson, M.
1999 The archaeology of death and burial. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press.
- Parsons, B.
1999 Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. The Lifecycle of the UK Funeral Industry. *Mortality* 4(2):127-45.
- Patrick, R.
1988 *The Royal Women's Hospital, Brisbane: the first fifty years*. Brisbane: Boolarong.
- Pearn, J.
1994 *Some milestones of Australian medicine: a centenary book for the Queensland Branch of the Australian Medical Association*. Brisbane: Amphion.
- People's Publishing.
1885 *Australian etiquette: or the rules and usages of the best society in the Australian colonies: together with their sports, pastimes, games and amusements: revised, illustrated, and compiled expressly as a household treasure for Australian homes*. Melbourne: People's Publishing Co.
- Petrie, A.L.
1903 - 1983 *Papers*. Unpublished manuscript. (UQFL101), University of Queensland, Fryer Library.
- Petrie, J.
1875 *John Petrie's Album* [Photograph album] Queensland Family History Society, Gaythorne, Brisbane.
1878 [Letter from John Petrie to Tom Petrie], Brisbane, 21 June 1878, RHSQ Archive Box 92-4.

- Petrie, T.
1904 *Tom Petrie's reminiscences of early Queensland*. Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson & Co.
- Pia Interlandi Designs www.piainterlandi.com [accessed 23 August 2014].
- Pine, V.R. and D.L. Phillips.
1970 The Cost of Dying: A Sociological Analysis of Funeral Expenditures. *Social Problems* 17(3):405-417.
- Pointon, M.
1999 Materializing Mourning: Hair, Jewellery and the Body. In M. Kwint, C. Breward and J. Aynsley, (eds) *Material memories: Design and Evocation*, pp. 39 - 57. New York: Berg.
- Powell, O.W.
1967 The Early Development of the Royal Brisbane Hospital 1848 - 1867. *Medical Journal of Australia* 1967(1):685-93.
- Prangnell, J. and G. McGowan.
2009 Soil temperature calculation for burial site analysis. *Forensic science international* 191:104-109.
2013 Economy and Respectability: Textiles from the North Brisbane Burial Ground. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17(3):487-519.
- Prangnell, J. and K. Rains.
2002 *Suncorp Stadium Archaeological Salvage Volume 1: Excavation report*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit Report No. 358. Unpublished.
- Priestley, J.B.
1974 *Victoria's heyday*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- Public Curator Office.
1889 *Hancock, W.H. Insolvency Files*. Brisbane: QSA Item ID1059657, Insolvency file.
- Puckle, B.S.
1926 *Funeral Customs: Their Origin and Development*. London: T. Werner.
- Pugh, T.P.
1859 *Pugh's Moreton Bay Almanac for the year 1859*. Brisbane: Theophilus P. Pugh.
1863 *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Law Calendar for 1863*. Brisbane: Theophilus P. Pugh.
1864 *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Law Calendar for 1864*. Brisbane: Theophilus P. Pugh.
1866 *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Law Calendar for 1866*. Brisbane: Theophilus P. Pugh.
- Punch.
1855 Etiquette in Mourning. *Punch* 28:51.
Punch (Melbourne).
11 May 1905:30
- Pye, J.W., H. Smith and D.C. Roper.
2004 Excavations at Meadowlark Cemetery, Manhattan. *Current Archaeology in Kansas* 5:77-92.
- Queensland Evangelical Standard*.
10 June 1875:2, 18 July 1876:18, 18 April 1878:503, 7 January 1887:595.

- Queensland Figaro*
10 August 1889:1
- Queensland Figaro and Punch.*
5 September 1885:3, 14 May 1887:6.
- Queensland Government Gazette.*
1865 VI (9):933-938, 1866 VII (147):1122, 1867 VIII (107):1166, 1869 X (42):611,
1874 XV (140):1546, 1874 XV (140):2137, 1878 XXIII (62):942, 1882 XXX (9):124,
1882 XXXI (37): 677-678, 1890 LI (12):187, 1898 LXIX (80):1, 1898 LXX (92):1.
- Queensland Government Statistician's Office
1998 *Queensland past and present: 100 years of statistics 1896-1996*. Brisbane:
Government Statistician's Office.
- Queensland Parliament.
1875 *Daily Hansard*. Legislative Assembly, 20 July 1875:858.
1877 Select Committee in to Brisbane General Cemetery. *Queensland Parliamentary Papers* 1877(3):1191-1209.
1914 *Queensland Parliamentary Papers* 1914(2) Appendix VIII:95-97.
1982 *Daily Hansard*. Legislative Assembly, 17 November 1982:2402.
- Queensland Post Office Directory Company.*
1887 *The Brisbane Post Office Directory and Country Guide for 1887*. South Brisbane:
Queensland Post Office Directory Company.
- Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser.*
26 January 1869:6, 5 October 1869:2, 22 June 1878:2, 6 November 1886:5, 13
August 1895:2, 3 September 1898:1 24 October 1893:5, 21 June 1898:2, 1 October
1898:4-6.
- Queensland Treasury Department.
1888 *General Purpose Cash Book*. QSA Item ID665132.
- Queenslander.*
28 December 1867:5, 9 December 1871:12, 3 July 1875:6, 27 May 1876:15, 15
July 1876:27, 11 February 1878:2, 29 June 1878:389, 6 July 1878:444, 22
November 1879:645, 13 December 1879:756, 19 June 1880:788-9, 16 February
1884:246, 26 April 1884:668, 1 August 1885:187, 9 January 1886:41, 13 October
1888:652, 6 September 1890:441, 8 October 1892:688, 17 December 1892:1184,
26 March 1898:602, 10 December 1898:1146.
- Rains, K. and J. Prangnell.
2002 Background to the University of Queensland Archaeological Services Unit's Lang
Park Salvage Excavations: History, Significance Assessment and Methods.
Queensland Archaeological Research 13:21-30.
- Rappaport, H.
2011 *Magnificent obsession: Victoria, Albert and the death that changed the monarchy*.
London: Hutchinson.
- Rayner, K.
1962 *The history of the Church of England in Queensland*. Unpublished PhD Thesis,
University of Queensland.
- Reeve, J., M. Adams and Council for British Archaeology.
1993 *The Spitalfields project: across the Styx Volume One, The archaeology*. York:
Council for British Archaeology.

- Reeves, M.S.R.
1913 *Round about a pound a week*. London: G. Bell & Sons.
- Registrar General of Queensland.
1861 *First Annual Report on the Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths [1860]*. Brisbane: W.C. Belbridge, Government Printer.
1862 *Second Annual Report on the Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths [1861]*. Brisbane: W.C. Belbridge, Government Printer.
1879 *Blue Book for the year 1879 compiled from official returns in the Registrar-General's Office, etc.* Brisbane: Government Statistician's Office.
1902 *Fifty-first Annual Report on the Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths [1901]*. Brisbane: Government Printer.
- Richards, T.
1990 *The commodity culture of Victorian England: advertising and spectacle, 1851-1914*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Richardson, R.
2001 *Death, dissection, and the destitute*. 2nd edn. London: Phoenix.
- Roberts, M.J.D.
2008 Deathbed of Lord Palmerston: An Episode in Victorian Cultural History. *Cultural & Social History* 5(2):183-196.
- Robinson, P.J., C.W. Faris and Y. Wind.
1967 *Industrial buying and creative marketing*. Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon.
- Robson, W.
1839 *Robson's Birmingham & Sheffield Directory*. London: William Robson.
- Ross-Stallings, N.A., C.D. Koeppel, S.P. Nawrocki, R.J. Peterson and G. Kienitz.
2009 Dear Ones Remembered: The Relocation of the Wright-Whitesell-Gentry Family Cemetery in Marion County, Indiana. *Indiana Archaeology* 4(1):178-206.
- Rugg, J.
2000 Defining the place of burial: what makes a cemetery a cemetery? *Mortality* 5(3):259-275.
- Russell, P.
2014 Travelling steerage: class, commerce, religion and family in colonial Sydney. *Journal of Australian Studies* 38(4):383-95.
- Sable Plume.
n.d. *Coffins and coffin making*. London: Undertakers' Journal Offices.
- Saunders, K. and K. Spearritt.
2006 Hazardous beginnings: childbirth practices in frontier tropical Australia. *Queensland Review* 3:1-12.
- Sayer, D.
2011a Death and the Dissenter: Group Identity and Stylistic Simplicity as Witnessed in Nineteenth-Century Nonconformist Gravestones. *Historical Archaeology* 45(4):115-34.
2011b The Organization of Post-Medieval Churchyards, Cemeteries and Grave Plots: Variation and Religious Identity as Seen in Protestant Burial Provision. In C. King and D. Sayer (eds) *The archaeology of post-medieval religion*, pp. 199-211. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell.

- Schiffman, L.G. and L.L. Kanuk.
1987 *Consumer behaviour*. 3rd edn. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Schiffman, L.G., A. O'Cass, A. Paladino and J. Carlson.
2014 *Consumer behaviour*. Frenchs Forest, New South Wales: Pearson Australia.
- Schwartz, M.L., M.A. Jolson and R.H. Lee.
1986 The marketing of funeral services: Past, present, and future. *Business Horizons* 29(2):40-45.
- Seale, C. and S. van der Geest.
2004 Good and bad death: Introduction. *Social Science & Medicine* 58(5):883-885.
Serendipity Environmentally Friendly Coffins www.serendipitycoffins.com.au
[accessed 1 September 2014].
- Sewell, W.H.
1870 *On Christian care of the dying and the dead, by a clergyman of the Church of England*. London: J.T. Hayes.
- Shanley, L.
c. 2010 *Kate Mary Smith*. Unpublished Manuscript. Brisbane: K.M. Smith
- Shine, D.T.
2012 *The Undertakers' Mother*. Malvern, Victoria: Killaghy.
- Shinya, Y.
2004 Funerals rites and changing perceptions of death in contemporary Japan. *Mortality* 9(1):27-41.
- Smith, G.A.
2002 More Work for the Undertaker. *Generation* 24(3):99 -101.
- Smith, Jeremy
2011 Losing the Plot: Archaeological Investigations of Prisoner Burials at the Old Melbourne Gaol and Pentridge Prison. *Provenance: The Journal of the Public Record Office Victoria* 10:11 - 24.
- Smith, J.
1885 *Diary*. K.M. Smith Records, OM75-127, John Oxley Library, SLQ.
- Smith, K.M.
1883 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.7]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1884 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.8]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1885 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.9]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1886 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.10]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1887 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.11]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1894 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.18]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1895 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.19]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1896 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.20]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1898 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.22]. Brisbane: GSQ.
1900 [Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.24]. Brisbane: GSQ.
- Snowball, R.
1893 *Mr John Quigley and child in coffin*. Newcastle: Hunter Photo Bank, Snowball Collection, 3707.
1896a *Funeral casket of Bryan Bainbridge*. Newcastle: Hunter Photo Bank, Snowball Collection, 0864.
1896b *New Lamberton 15.1.96*. Newcastle: Norm Barney Photographic Collection, University of Newcastle, 3271390674.

- Snowball, R.
1899 *Funeral Sandgate NSW*. Newcastle: Norm Barney Photographic Collection, University of Newcastle, 4307834728.
- South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*.
22 January 1876:5.
- Spencer-Wood, S.M. (ed.)
1987 *Consumer choice in historical archaeology*. New York: Plenum.
- Sprenger, N.H.
2012 *Health appropriation: a comparative study of patent medicines and orthodox medical practice, using colonial Queensland as a case study*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Queensland.
- Springate, M.E.
1998 *Mass-Produced Coffin Hardware in Eastern North America: A Synthesis*. Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia.
2011 Coffin Handles from the African Burial Ground, New York City: Notes on their Source and Context. *The African Diaspora Archaeology Network Newsletter* (June).
2015 *Coffin hardware in nineteenth century America*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast.
- Staniforth, M.
2009 Shipwreck Cargoes: Approaches to Material Culture in Australian Maritime Archaeology. *Historical Archaeology* 43(3):95-100.
- Stannard, D.E. and P. Ariès (eds).
1975 *Death in America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Star*.
4 June 1861:2.
- Stock, R.
2014 *Internet reshapes funerals*. Available from:
<http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/industries/10052273/Internet-reshapes-funerals>
[Accessed 18 May 2014].
- Stone, E.
1858 *God's acre or Historical notices relating to churchyards*. London: John W. Parker & Son.
- Storey, N.R.
2007 *London: Crime, Death and Debauchery*. New York: History Press.
- Strange, J.M.
2002 'She Cried a Very Little': Death, Grief and Mourning in Working-Class Culture, c. 1880 -1914. *Social History* 27(2):143-161.
2005 *Death, grief and poverty in Britain, 1870 -1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Summers, H.J.
1979 *They crossed the river: the founding of the Mater Misericordiae Hospital, Brisbane, by the Sisters of Mercy*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- Sunday Times*.
20 December 1896:3.

- Suzuki, H.
 2003 McFunerals: The Transition of Japanese Funerary Services. *Asian Anthropology* 2(1):49-78.
 2009 Funeral Industry. In C. D. Bryant and D. L. Peck (eds) *Encyclopedia of death and the human experience*, pp. 476-480. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Swedlund, A.C.
 2010 *Shadows in the Valley: A Cultural History of Illness, Death and Loss in New England, 1840 - 1916*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*.
 24 April 1803:3, 25 March 1804:4, 18 November 1815:2, 30 January 1819:4.
- Sydney Morning Herald*.
 19 June 1849:1, 25 August 1851:3, 15 April 1862:8, 23 September 1872:8, 20 November 1874:7, 12 Aug 1878:5.
- Tarlow, S.
 2002 The Aesthetic Corpse in Nineteenth-century Britain. In Y. Hamilakis, M. Pluciennik and S. Tarlow (eds) *Thinking through the body: archaeologies of corporeality*, pp. 85-97. New York: Plenum Publishers.
- Tarlow, S. and L.N. Stutz.
 2013 *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of death and burial*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, L.
 2009 *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Telegraph*.
 23 July 1875:2, 25 August 1875:2, 20 January 1877:2, 13 December 1872:2, 18 January 1873:2, 4 February 1876:2, 25 January 1877:3, 2 June 1877:2, 17 December 1877:2, 29 January 1878:3, 4 July 1878:3, 14 June 1880:1, 16 June 1880:2, 21 December 1881:2, 24 July 1885:4, 14 February 1887:2, 13 October 1890:2, 16 March 1892:6, 26 September 1892:3, 25 May 1898:4, 29 January 1900:1-4, 6 December 1900:8.
- Tharp, B.W.
 2003 "Preserving their form and features" The Commodification of Coffins in the American Understanding of Death. In S. Strasser (ed.) *Commodifying everything: relationships of the market*, pp. 119-137. New York: Routledge.
- Thompson, F.M.L.
 1988 *The rise of respectable society: a social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Thorne and Greenwell.
 1870 *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Law Calendar, Directory and Coast Guide for 1870*. Brisbane: Thorne & Greenwell.
- Trompette, P.
 2012 Pompes Funèbres and the Overflowing of Ostentatious Funerals. In B. Czarniawsja and O. Löfgren (eds) *Managing Overflow In Affluent Societies*, pp. 19-42. New York: Routledge.
- Tyrer, J.H.
 1993 *History of the Brisbane Hospital and its affiliates: a pilgrim's progress*. Brisbane: Boolarong.

Undertakers and Funeral Director's Journal

19 May 1886:73.

Vamplew, W. (ed.).

1987 *Australians: Historical statistics*. Broadway, New South Wales: Fairfax, Syme & Weldon.

Veblen, T.

1899 *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Dover.

Venbrux, E.

2009 Commodification of Death. In C. D. Bryant and D. L. Peck (eds) *Encyclopedia of death and the human experience*, pp. 212-214. Los Angeles: Sage.

Vine Hall, N.J.

2002 *Tracing your family history in Australia: a national guide to sources*. Albert Park, Victoria: N. Vine Hall.

Wakeling, A.L. and P. Moon.

2002 *Grave concerns*. Stockton-on-Tees, Durham: Ellar.

Walsh, W.

1877 [in K.M. Smith Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.1]. Brisbane: GSQ.

1879 [in K.M. Smith Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.3]. Brisbane: GSQ.

1880 [in K.M. Smith Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.4]. Brisbane: GSQ.

1881 [in K.M. Smith Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.5]. Brisbane: GSQ.

1882 [in K.M. Smith Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.6]. Brisbane: GSQ.

1883 [in K.M. Smith Undertakers Records] [Microform 815/006.7]. Brisbane: GSQ.

Walter, T.

2005 Three ways to arrange a funeral: Mortuary variation in the modern West. *Mortality* 10(3):173-192.

Warwick Argus

1 September 1896:3.

Waters, C.

2008 *Commodity culture in Dickens's Household Words: the social life of goods*. Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate.

Watson & Co.

1861 *Etiquette for all: or Rules of conduct for every circumstance in life: with the laws and practices of good society*. Glasgow: George Watson.

Watson, Ferguson & Co.

1885 *Brisbane Post Office Directory and Country Guide*. Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson & Co.

Webster, F.E. and Y. Wind.

1972 A General Model for Understanding Organizational Buying Behavior. *Journal of Marketing* 36(2):12-19.

Week.

19 June 1880:585.

Weeks-Shaw, C.S.

1898 *A Text-book of Nursing: For the Use of Training Schools, Families, and Private Students*. 2nd edn. New York: D. Appleton.

- Weston, D. A. (ed.).
 1989 *The sleeping city: the story of Rookwood Necropolis*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger.
- Wiggins, D.E.
 1991 *The Burial Acts: Cemetery reform in Great Britain, 1815-1914*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Texas Tech University.
- Wilson, A.N.
 2003 *The Victorians*. London: Arrow.
- Wise & Co.
 1896 *The Queensland Official Directory 1896-1897*. Brisbane: H. Wise & Co.
 1898 *The Queensland Official Directory 1898-1899*. Brisbane: H. Wise & Co.
 1900 *The Queensland Post Office and Official Directory 1900*. Brisbane: Wise's Directories.
- Wolffe, J.
 2000 *Great deaths: grieving, religion, and nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Woodley, P.J.
 1992 The Stirrup Court cemetery coffin hardware. *Ontario Archaeology* 53:45-64.
- Worcester Journal*.
 24December 1859:1.
- Worker*.
 17 February 1900:3.
- Wurst, L. and R.H. McGuire.
 1999 Immaculate Consumption: A Critique of the "Shop till you drop" School of Human Behavior. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3(3):191-199.